THE NEW REPUBLIC

Has the Moment Come?

"We have faith," John Foster Dulles said in 1953, "that the time may come – it might come quickly and suddenly – when political leaders would be prepared to put into effect international agreements limiting armaments. When that moment comes, the nations should be able to seize it. That moment – we must not let it escape." Is this "that moment?" The tone of present diplomatic discourse is low-keyed and restrained. The President, Prime Minister Macmillan and Premier Khrushchev seem to agree that nothing shall be allowed to cancel or even prejudice the Summit meeting in May. Until then, nothing of great importance is likely to be concluded; and very likely nothing of sweeping significance (general disarmament) will be decided at the Summit; except that the promise of something's being decided sometime will be kept alive. That, for all concerned, is good politics and good policy; for the alternative is to infer that diplomacy is useless and that the interests of the Soviet Union and the West are at every point inevitably and eternally irreconcilable. Hope must be kept burning – though on a low flame – that East and West do *have a common interest in preventing war. That is our reading of Macmillan's quick trip to Washington and of the inter-related disarmament and test ban talks now going on in Geneva. There and elsewhere in recent months the Russians have shown the canniness of their chess champions and the agility of their ballerinas. What a performance it is: A threat is scheduled for Monday, a joke for Tuesday, on Wednesday a daring missile shot, a concession on Thursday, another warning on Friday, the hint of a new proposal on Saturday, and so on. Nothing is left out. The act has bluster, buffoonery and high-mindedness. But what do the Soviet performers want? They clearly do not want and seem not*

(Continued on page 3)

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T.R.B. from Washington

On Wisconsin

★ Wisconsin is a bleak state in March. At no time in a visit last week did this reporter find temperature as high as wind velocity. Milwaukee has given up trying to remove terminal moraines of sooty snow at downtown street intersections; why bother when probably it will all be gone by July anyway? Detractors of this bracing region call it a state with nine months' winter and three months' poor sledding. The Kennedy-Humphrey primary contest is bleak for liberals, too.

Maybe it will be possible to interpret the April 5 vote after it happens, but I am not certain. If Kennedy wins big, Democratic leaders in three or four other states are said to be ready to plump for him. All the professional polls indicate Kennedy will triumph, though some last-minute evidence indicates Humphrey's demand for debate of the issues is catching on, and Humphrey may be closing the admitted gap.

But there are imponderables that make it advisable to hold back interpretation perhaps until after the next primary, in West Virginia. The biggest reason is that Wisconsin has a unique (and outrageous) system whereby Republicans can cross over and vote for their favorite Democrat. It is as though the Apostles of the Reformed Church of the Latter Day Saints could enter the College of Cardinals and pick the Pope. Nixon is uncontested and there is a grand row on the Democratic side so there is every temptation for Republicans to get into the Democratic scrap; they can go back and vote for Nixon in November. There isn't much doubt for whom they will vote; Humphrey has denounced Nixon, Kennedy has been cannily silent.

Underlying the whole contest is the question of whether a Catholic can be President, and Wisconsin is one-third Catholic. Superficial evidence is that Catholics are solid for Kennedy and that, so far anyway, Protestants are not switching over to Humphrey simply on religious grounds.

Kennedy, at 43, is an attractive young man, poised and assured; when a smile flashes across his usually grave face he inspires confidence. There is a tough quality about him that has led reporters sometimes to call him, not wholly in jest, "Jack the Knife." He has the wisdom and capacity to attract liberal advisers who would be a credit to any campaign. Yet some doubts linger on.

James MacGregor Burns ended his sympathetic biography, *John Kennedy, A Political Profile*, with a qualification: Kennedy would bring bravery and wisdom to the White House but would he bring "passion and power"? It would depend, so Burns thinks, on whether Kennedy made "a commitment not only of mind but of heart that until now he has never been required to make."

Humphrey has made such a commitment; he is a man of warmth and dedication. But Kennedy with his glittering family has staged a brilliantly-organized political drive in Wisconsin without really putting his cards on the table. Some voters favor him because he would be "tough on labor" (apparently confusing him with brother Bob, of the McClellan Committee). When farmers demand why he voted pro-Benson in '53 and '54, Kennedy disarmingly says that he was mistaken; now he has seen the light. Kennedy went through the 50's, somehow or other, without committing himself on McCarthy. Franklin Roosevelt, it is true, didn't put his cards on the table in the '32 election either; but in his case there was a liberal administrative record behind him.

The Time *Slant*

★ A book we want to read is *Name and Address* by T. S. Matthews (Simon & Schuster, $4.50). A graduate of this magazine, Matthews became boss-editor of *Time* in 1952. Rather cattily *Newsweek* quotes Matthews as writing that *Time* hasn't reported a Presidential election honestly since 1940. Writing of *Time* in 1952, Matthews says, "The distortions, suppressions, and slanting of its political 'news' seemed to me to pass the bounds of politics and to commit an offense against the ethics of journalism." And 1960 – ?

British Fears

★ Macmillan's hurried, dramatic visit here reflects British fears of what *The Economist* (London) calls "the familiar and endemic incoherence of American policy-making under the Eisenhower Administration." This column is sometimes accused of harshness; it might be remembered that a large part of the British nation shares our views. The Paris Summit is only seven weeks off – is the White House getting weak on that, too? The President must decide between State Department and Pentagon. The Pentagon (and AEC) want to resume small underground nuclear tests quickly, which we and Moscow have unilaterally abandoned since November, 1958. What Folly!

Spreading the Risk

★ When Blue Cross was organized years ago the American Medical Association shrieked "socialized medicine." It has thus denounced every forward movement since. Now it is the Forand bill. In the world today, 33 nations have government medical care of some sort to spread the risk of sickness for the elderly, but the US, the world's richest nation, doesn't. Anybody can see that an American system soon is inevitable.

But the AMA says "No." So does the Indiana Funeral Directors Association. The morticians gloomily told a House committee that it would "weaken the patient-physician relationship."

Eisenhower, now 69, is the most celebrated free medical patient of the government. He is against the Forand bill. This privately disturbs Nixon more and more. He is now openly leaking out information that he doesn't see eye to eye with Eisenhower on a lot of things – health, education and the like – that he is the liberal, Eisenhower is really more conservative than Bob Taft. Nixon called in Welfare Secretary Flemming recently and urged him to try to work out some Forand bill substitute; anything for the campaign to show the GOP loves old people, too. Flemming tried but was slapped down.

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Has the Moment Come?

. . . to expect either war or peace – if by war one means troops and missiles exchanging blows, and by peace genuine collaboration toward the rule of law as that rule governs in the West. The Soviets know that their long-range rockets have created a military stand-off; they know too that their conventional military power is more than strong enough to throw back any non-nuclear attack. Nor do Russian spokesmen display any doubt that peace might rob them of the victories which, in their opinion, history has reserved for them. They assume that mankind will eventually beat a path to their door – they need only go on doing what they are doing: accelerate the economic growth of the Soviet Union, evangelize for the Communist faith, keep their side united and divide the opposition. Divide Germany from France, divide France from Britain, divide Britain from the US, divide Asia from the "imperialists," divide black and white in Africa, divide Arabs and Jews, and keep Germany divided until the right deal can be made. And by propaganda and subsidized conspiracy, divide nations from within. Meanwhile, advertise widely that anyone can do business with Khrushchev.

These, it seems to *The New Republic*, are some of the realities of the power struggle in the 60's which, if understood, make it possible to assess with some degree of accuracy the current negotiations.

Last week in Geneva – and for the first time – an agreement on ending nuclear weapons tests was thought to be in sight. The benefits of such a treaty, faithfully observed, are apparent enough. It may be the world's last chance to prevent a further spread of nuclear testing, and in particular prevent the emergence of China as the fifth nuclear power. An effective ban would not only protect this and coming generations from further poisoning by radioactive fallout, it would test the willingness of major powers to surrender some of their sovereignty to an international authority. It is not disarmament, but it is truly what this country has so often urged – a "first step." The Soviets appear to have accepted the principal items in the US test ban proposal of last February. They have agreed in principle, and perhaps in some detail, to the setting up of a complex control system for monitoring a ban; they have agreed to inspection by multi-national teams of all tests in the atmosphere, under water and in near space, and all underground tests above the Hiroshima-bomb threshold (19 kilotons). And most recently they have conceded that monitoring devices considered adequate earlier may not be adequate to detect small-yield, underground blasts. They say they are willing, therefore, to join in a study of how those techniques can be refined and put into effect. But, they have added, pending the outcome of studies, *all* testing must be suspended.

This is not the millenium, but it is not a blow on the back of the head

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either, which one might have thought from some of the initial reactions observed in the nation's capital. One does not have to believe that lions and lambs are ready to bed together or that Soviet aims have suddenly and indubitably become trustworthy in order to see the futility in such negative responses as that of Sen. Clinton Anderson (D, N.M.) who cried "phony" and suggested it might be "unwise" to go on with these "fruitless conferences." That a constructive response is possible was proved by Secretary Herter at his March 25 press conference, and by the remarks of Dr. Hans Bethe – a scientist whose competence is at least as great as that of many in the Atomic Energy Commission who oppose a test ban. Dr. Bethe acknowledged that further clarification should be sought: "In particular, we must be assured that the Russians will permit an adequate number of on-site inspections and liberal criteria for initiating them. Furthermore, the duration of the moratorium (*i.e.* one or two years) will have to be negotiated." But, he said, "if these and other details can be satisfactorily cleared up, the Russian proposal seems to me to give a good basis for an agreement on test cessation at rather small risks." And he added that he did not think it would be "catastrophic" even should the Russians secretly violate a moratorium by setting off some undetected underground explosions.

Can "these and other details" be cleared up satisfactorily? One can only say that most diligent efforts are being and should be made; and to that, one may add the surmise that final approval will be deferred until Mr. Khrushchev meets Mr. Eisenhower at the Summit, and at that point there may be new complications. The Soviet Premier, well aware of Britain's zeal for an agreement and of the President's desire for some tangible sign of reduced tensions, may then suggest some *quid pro quo*. The *quid* could be an enforceable test ban with a one-year moratorium on all tests below 19 kilotons; the *quo* could be an arrangement which, while paying homage to principle, in fact prepares the way for Western withdrawal from West Berlin. Nothing so sinister may be contemplated by Mr. Khrushchev, but *even if it were*, the US would be under no less obligation to continue working honestly and carefully for a treaty which satisfies the conditions outlined by Dr. Bethe.

In the general disarmament negotiations, there is the same need for patient and affirmative effort, though far less reason for optimism. The Russians still demand, in effect, that the West buy their package before opening it, trusting that the contents will correspond to the label, that all the parts are there and can later be fitted together, and that the whole mechanism inside will finally work. The US is, of course, not going to buy that. One cannot approve of controlling arms without first knowing how they are to be controlled. One cannot agree that military forces shall be cut to this or that number without first discussing how, when or whether a census of the forces now in existence is to be made.

From reading the news reports of these talks, the public gets the familiar and frightening feeling that it is seeing itself coming through a door. Disarmament has been looked at, talked about, pulled apart and fought over so many times since the end of World War II – and with so little result – that the spectator is overcome with fatigue, with a sense of there being nothing more to be said, and nothing to be done. Yet despair may be more dangerous than illusion. There is no way, except by capitulating, to escape the uncomfortable paradox described by Chester Bowles: "Viewed from the defense perspective on survival, our problem is how to keep up with the arms race. Viewed from the human perspective on survival, our problem is how to curtail it."

Thus, we are required to "catch up" with the Russians in rocketry, modernize and enlarge and diversify our conventional forces, beef-up NATO and help underdefended nations to arm themselves. *And at the same time*, we must propose and be willing to carry out enforceable measures for slowing down the arms race. We must do the first because the freer, liberal ways of the West *are* menaced by international Communism, and because as George Kennan has pointed out, "Armaments are important not just for what can be done with them in time of war but for the psychological shadows they cast in time of peace." And we must do the latter because both Russians and Americans very soon will be able within a half-hour nearly to destroy each other; and when today's Russian and American children are adults, they may live within 10 minutes of that destruction. The "balance of terror" may not stay balanced.

Is "the moment" then here to which the late Secretary Dulles referred? Not in any apocalyptic sense in which, in a single moment, everything is won or lost. But it is, in the sense that the moment is always *now*. Differences between Moscow and Washington are numerous, and few of them are trivial. The danger of war is real and commonly recognized, but war is not the only danger. Opportunities for settling disputes can be seized, indeed, must be created – so long as it is remembered that there are times when nothing fails like success.

Censure of South Africa

State Department Press Officer Lincoln White's strong denial on March 23 that this government's extraordinary action in deploring the violent police suppression of African demonstrators in South Africa was inspired for political purposes by anyone outside the Department is doubtless technically true, but it is an oversimplification of the dynamics of this historic policy turn.

The Department knew well in advance that the Pan-Africanist Congress was organizing a nationwide passive disobedience campaign against the galling require-

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ment, which the South African government has just had to lift, that all Africans carry "passes." It was also known that the government intended to quash the campaign – the first ever to be organized on a national scale – before it could reach major proportions, and that force would be used. The Department's experts could anticipate an explosion and prepared a response.

But the decision to act in so direct and prompt a manner, placing the blame for the bloodshed (the police figure of 72 killed is probably too low) directly on the Union Government in an admittedly unprecedented intrusion into the domestic affairs of another country, was basically a reflection of the totally new climate of opinion about African political aspirations which has developed in this country over the past year. There seems little doubt that the Department was under very considerable political pressure to come out with a strong statement. This pressure came from both major parties and coincided with the Department's own evaluation of the serious policy implications elsewhere in Africa if the US were to avert its eyes from the bloody events in Sharpsville and Langa. Almost every Presidential candidate has come up, in recent months, with a strongly-worded endorsement of African political aspirations and of more economic aid, even through multilateral channels, for African countries of whatever political persuasion. Partly this unanimity of view derives from zealous home work and common sense ("don't leave the race issue to the Russians"), partly from a recognition of the growing sense of identity between American Negroes and Africans, and partly from a realization that this is one issue which has special meaning for the American public just now.

The new African-consciousness in the US begins at the grass roots: 1960 has been named "Africa year" in American churches, and every Sunday School class and Ladies Aid circle from Pine Creek, Oregon, to Eagle Creek, Maine, has been conscientiously holding study sessions on the political situations below the Sahara. Congressmen's offices have been flooded with requests for data on the awakening continent. These discussions are augmented by materials received by local churches from their missionaries, who convey an image of Africans as individuals with aspirations comparable to those of anybody else.

The over-familiar stereotype of African nationalists as potential Mau Maus has been broken down by the appearance on American television this year of such impressive leaders as Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere – whose cultured British accents, remarkable social presence, and obvious intellectuality have relieved thousands of viewer-voters of many of their anxieties about post-independence Africa. American magazines have been outdoing each other to bring out bigger and better "special issues" on Africa. This is one case, then, where public opinion is very nearly abreast of the experts in

"In times of crisis, the newspapers are first with the cry: 'Let the people know the facts!' But perhaps Fact is a deity invoked by the people only in the last emergency when the easy gods of peace have failed them."

- Dorothy L. Sayers, 1941

"By the Way, Who Appoints Those Fellows?"

"There is only one issue in this campaign. That issue is – 'the mess in Washington.'. . . There is only one way to get rid of that mess: that is to get rid of the wasters, the bunglers, the incompetents and the boss politicians who have created it." – *General Eisenhower*, Sept. 4, 1952

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Left under a Cloud 1953-1960

1953 C. Wesley Roberts, Chairman, Republican National Committee
1954 Adolph H. Wenzell, consultant, Budget Bureau
1955 Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the Air Force
1955 Peter A. Strobel, Commissioner of Public Buildings, General Services Administration
1955 Hugh W. Cross, Chairman, ICC
1956 Edmund Mansure, head of General Services Administration
1956 Edward C. Corey, Director, regional office, Commodity Stabilization Service
1956 Edward A. Foot, Department of Justice
1956 Robert B. McLeaish, Administrator, Farmers Home Administration
1957 Robert T. Ross, Assistant Secretary of Defense
1958 Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President
1958 Richard Mack, Commissioner, FCC
1960 John C. Doerfer, Chairman, FCC
and
1960 Jerome Kuykendall, Chairman, FPC?

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recognizing that Africa deserves an independent American appraisal.

On March 16, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee convened in open session to hear supporting testimony for the 82-page critique of US foreign policy toward Africa prepared late last year, at the Committee's direction, by Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, director of the African Studies Program at Northwestern University. The Herskovits Report, which calls for a policy based on the "expectation of the primacy of Africans in all sub-Saharan Africa" and urges this government to "refrain from identifying ourselves with multiracial countries whose practices are such that close association with them must handicap us in the current world struggle" was round-tabled by two different groups of African experts, one in session at the University of California and another in New York, before it reached the Senate.

The international climate was also more propitious for a forthright stand by the US than ever before. Although our delegation at the United Nations has been working with the African bloc on many issues and has voted affirmatively on the resolution condemning apartheid since 1958, our words have continued to be closely measured because of respect for Britain's difficult position *vis-à-vis* a Commonwealth country. But Prime Minister Macmillan's "wind of change" speech to the South African Parliament in February – in which he urged South Africans to "come to terms" with the "growth of political consciousness that is sweeping the continent" and told the white supremacists that Britain "rejects the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another" – removed the last major obstacle to the establishment of a consistent American attitude toward the African continent as a whole.

Academic Experiment

The new Amidon school will open next fall in Washington, D. C., to test whether the so-called "traditional" method of primary school instruction is as good as its proponents claim. District school superintendent Carl Hansen says the school will "place greater stress on the basic academic subjects," with "systematic instruction in reading, writing, grammar, speech, mathematics, science, history and geography." He hopes to compare the results of this method to the results of the "progressive" life-adjustment method which dominates most other District elementary schools, and prove his case for teaching "subject matter" instead of "students."

The flaw in this, as in all such experiments, is that the new scheme will "work" without proving anything. Students in the new school will almost certainly learn more than the students in the non-experimental schools. The teachers will be those who have the initiative and imagination to move to a school with a "new" idea. Superintendent Hansen is not likely to let any pedagogic rotten apples into this particular barrel.

By the same token, the students will also be exceptional. Hansen says he wants a cross-section of both intelligence and ethnic background, but since the Amidon school is to be in an almost uninhabited area, most of its students will come from outside. They will be recruited by parental application, from middle-class families who think good education important enough to bring their students to and from school. It will be no surprise when children from such families turn out to learn more than the progeny of more indifferent homes.

Back in the thirties an elaborate "experiment" was made comparing the post-graduation records of students who attended more than a dozen "traditional" and "progressive" schools. None too surprisingly, the alumni of progressive schools did better. In that era the best teachers were trained as "progressives," and the most lively and prosperous school systems had adopted the philosophy. Trouble came when progressivism spread to second-rate schools, when it "succeeded." In reporting the disbanding of the Progressive Education Association, the education editor of the *New York Times* remarked on June 21, 1955, that one of the reasons was that many of the practices the progressives advocated had been adopted. With unsophisticated teachers and uninterested students, progressivism became life-adjustment, and mediocrity reigned. Now Dr. Hansen wants to reverse the process, and the result will no doubt follow. The most talented teachers and most ambitious parents are dissatisfied with the status quo, and will try anything new, including a pedagogy which insists that it is more important to learn English than to like it. But the real question, which Dr. Hansen's experiment does not appear likely to answer, is which pedagogy is more effective in the hands of uninspired teachers, working with unmotivated students. As now set up, this and similar educational "experiments" are likely to prove only that highly motivated students learn more when their abilities are challenged by dedicated teachers, who do not have preconceptions about the limits of juvenile ability.

Medical Care in Old Age

An issue of a size suited to Presidential politics is furnished by Rep. Aime J. Forand's bill – for which a discharge petition is being circulated in the House – to use the Social Security system in giving financial protection against medical and hospital costs in old age. The broad issue is worthy of the great choices the voters must make between candidates and parties. This is the issue of the role of the federal government as a means of providing for the common welfare. The proportion of older people to the total population is constantly rising; their financial

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ability to bear the rising costs of medical care is demonstrably low. The issue of "federal spending" is irrelevant here, because Forand's bill would involve the direct use for a particular welfare purpose of direct taxes (on payrolls) imposed for that purpose, without lump appropriations for the public treasury.

The lines are clearly drawn. *All* the men seriously contending for the Democratic Presidential nomination have endorsed the Forand bill, or other legislative proposals having the same purpose and method. The opposite position has been defined by the President. He will not even admit discussion by his Administration of any proposal going behind a federal-state subsidy for protection by private insurance policies under contracts written by the states. Repeat: "federal," "state," "subsidy," "means test," and "private." And he will not permit "exploration" of even that limited program.

Vice President Nixon and Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, differ from Mr. Eisenhower only in that they are perhaps ready to end the talk and recommend: Privately-carried, public-subsidized protection for aged persons who voluntarily apply and can show they are needy. Both have sought to hint that they wish something more "liberal," but they have passed all opportunities to commit themselves publicly to the position they wish rumor to attribute to them.

The President, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Flemming and all but a frustrated liberal minority of Republicans are against a "compulsory" plan. It is permissible to ask who they think would be doing the compelling. Are the gentlemen philosophically opposed to such an act of free political will? Their position carries conservatism beyond caution almost to cowardice, and this applies as well to that Democratic wing, mostly Southern and personified in this instance by Chairman Wilbur D. Mills of the Ways and Means Committee, which has kept the Forand bill in committee, denying it debate on the House floor.

Civil Rights Act of 1960

All the pieces of Lyndon Johnson's plan are slipping into place. 179 Democrats and 132 Republicans in the House joined to pass the kind of "moderate" voting rights bill he favors for 1960. And the parliamentary situation is such that to attempt to strengthen it by amendment is to run the risk of losing everything, since it would then have to go through the murderous House Rules Committee a second time. Supporters of Johnson-for-President will have something to which to point with "moderate" pride when the subject of civil rights arises.

No one familiar with the South anticipates that the new system of Court-appointed referees will guarantee the Negro's right to vote. In most of the Deep South it will still be worth his job and peace of mind – if not life and limb – to attempt to exercise that right. But passage of the House bill into law will help give meaning to the 14th Amendment. In those parts of the South where some Negro voting is the case, registrars may tend to be more generous in granting access to the registration rolls. And in places where Negroes are generally tolerated at the polls, the bill may be an incentive and a reminder to exercise that right. (In Atlanta, for example, where there are relatively few obstacles, less than 30 percent of Negroes eligible to vote do so.)

Important points that civil rights advocates had wanted to include in the bill are left out. There is no provision for "technical assistance" to communities trying in good faith to integrate their schools. There is no program for preventing job discrimination because of race. But the Civil Rights bill of 1960, if accepted by the Senate, will mark an important step beyond the Civil Rights Act of 1957. And it need not mark the end of progress in this direction even for this year if those who have worked so effectively for this measure will do the same on others not bearing the title "civil rights."

Chile's Coming Crisis

The long strike in the US against copper producers, which ended last month, cost the big companies about 300,000 tons of production. Consumption this year is expected to set new records, and it will take some months just to bring the business stockpile back to normal, but the price of the metal has already begun to drop sharply, from 35 cents to 32 cents a pound. With mines here back in operation, and the huge open-pit mines at Toquepala, Peru, and in El Salvador and Chile beginning to produce, the non-Soviet world is once again faced with the prospect of surplus output and declining prices for the metal.

This bleak outlook bears most oppressively on Chile, which derives one quarter of its government revenues and two-thirds of its foreign exchange from copper exports. The disastrous slide in world copper prices from 44 cents a pound in 1955 to less than 25 cents in 1958 was a major factor in the collapse of the *peso*, which fell to less than 1/10 of a cent, and finally had to be abandoned. The strike in the US and the partial recovery of copper prices last year enabled President Alessandri to carry out a stabilization program drawn up by US economic advisers and approved by the International Monetary Fund. Foreign exchange controls were modified or dropped, private enterprise and foreign investment were encouraged, the budget was almost balanced, and the *peso* was replaced by the *escudo*, worth nearly $1. No government in Latin America has tried harder to satisfy the "free enterprise" proclivities of the Eisenhower Administration.

Unfortunately, that Administration is more inclined to preach free enterprise than to practice it where the

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politically influential copper-state Senators are concerned. During the 1958 recession Secretary of the Interior Seaton proposed a price support program for domestic copper producers of 27 1/2 cents a pound, up to one million tons a year; a few months later, he persuaded Congress to reimpose the 1.74 cent excise tax on imported copper, which had been suspended since 1947. That tax costs Chilean exporters nearly $20 million a year, and is slated to rise automatically to 2 cents if copper prices fall much further. On his visit to Santiago, the President was incautious enough to promise that he would "take under advisement" removal of the tax, but Washington officials promptly vetoed the idea.

The Chilean Communist Party has been alert to point out the gap between Eisenhower promises and policies. The party is small (about 25,000 members) but is part of a coalition that got 29 percent of the vote in the 1958 elections (as against 35 percent for Alessandri). It has considerable intellectual prestige and a made-to-order economic argument in the runaway cost of living (up 2,000 percent since 1950). American support for Alessandri's disarmament proposals, and removal of the burdensome tax on copper would greatly strengthen the shaky Chilean economy and the political position of our friends in that country. It would make it unnecessary for Chile to engage in any more barter deals with the Soviet *bloc* for her surplus copper. It would save US consumers of copper millions of dollars a year. And it would lend authenticity to the President's neighborly remarks during his good-will tour.

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S MESSAGE TO THE FRENCH

De Gaulle and His Guest

Paris

From the outset, Mr. Khrushchev wanted to foil what he believed to be a maneuver on the part of France. From the moment he got off his plane, he explained, in effect, that he was not there "on a tourist visit" – not there to admire the most beautiful creations of France. This had been made clear earlier, when, while still in Moscow – where he claimed to be ill with grippe – the Soviet Premier requested an almost total rearrangement of the program for the visit. The program had been set up, as a matter of fact, in such a way as to impress Mr. "K" and also in such a way as to leave him no latitude for making any direct contact with the people at large, or for making possible Communist propaganda. After the program had been rearranged, it left him a little more latitude.

But has he, during this first week of his visit, taken advantage of this in order to make himself heard among the Communist elements which, it must be recalled, constitute a fifth of the French electors? So far, he has not. On the contrary, he has displayed exemplary courtesy toward his hosts.

Moreover, the French Communists are respecting the rules of the game, since they are exceedingly happy to be restored to participation in the French national community, from which they had been more or less estranged since Budapest. If Mr. Khrushchev has rejected the idea of *tourisme*, this was not so that he could generate *Communist* propaganda, but rather so that he could attempt to get across the *Soviet* viewpoint.

Is this to say – as General de Gaulle believes – that Mr. K really more nearly represents eternal Russia than the present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Not entirely. This was perhaps more true of Marshal Stalin. It is less true of Khrushchev.

In any case, the principal concern now of the Russians obviously centers on Germany. The Soviet premier has made no attempt to hide this. There has not been a single speech in which, on the pretext (quite obvious to the French) of commemorating the dead of the last war and the comradeship-in-arms of the Gaullists and the Russians against Germany, he has failed to allude to the dangers of German militarism, to the cult of Pan-Germanism, etc. If he renders homage to de Gaulle, he does so in terms of the General's refusal to bow to the German invader. If he pays tribute to the solidarity between the Soviet and the French people, he bases this on the frightful toll in blood exacted from both these nations by Hitlerism. All his words are carefully chosen, to be sure; and all due discretion has been observed; nevertheless, in the last analysis, his intention is clear: to revive in France, anti-German feelings at the very moment when it is being generally said that General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer share a common policy.

Soviet diplomats do not, however, seem to cherish any illusions as to the possibility that France might at this time, and before the Summit conference, revise her German policy. At the last Elysée reception, where it was my privilege to attend an occasion honoring Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, along with

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several French notables, it was obvious that the goal being pursued was not any immediate shifting policy on Germany or on Berlin. The Russians are limiting themselves to hoping that there will be a greater awareness in French public opinion of the dangers of a possible German supremacy in Europe. And on this point, even General de Gaulle's reaction is favorable. The President of the French Republic, in proposing a toast in honor of his illustrious guest, declared that "Russia and France are the two most glorious nations of Europe." Mr. K was not insensitive to the desire thus underlined to maintain a certain aloofness toward England and Germany – at least insofar as their relative pre-eminence is concerned.

General de Gaulle said further: "If there is any reckoning up of accounts at the Summit, the purpose is to take our bearings and set our course." In other words, through private Franco-Russian conversations (which took place, although France no longer is reckoned as one of the truly Great Powers and is treated so only as a result of de Gaulle's statesmanlike policies), the French President wished to share with his guest the planetary concept he holds of French policy.

You are concerned about Germany, which interests us as well, he says to Mr. K. Well, we are interested in China, which is of direct concern to you. General de Gaulle feels that, despite Communism, Russia remains above all a European nation, and a white nation; and the yellow peril is a factor of greater significance to it than Marxist ideology. Has de Gaulle really considered, as is claimed, recognizing Communist China in exchange for a half in Sino-Soviet expansionism in Africa and a cessation of Chinese aid to the Algerian rebels? It is hardly probable. General de Gaulle is hoping instead (and in my opinion he is completely wrong on this point), for *European* complicity with the Russians, by taking advantage of Russia's concern with the German problem and her supposed fear of the Chinese.

As can be seen, all of this remains extremely vague, or, at least, any calculations on both sides are of a long-range nature. From an immediate and specific viewpoint, what can one expect, and what do the interlocutors expect, from the Franco-Soviet conversations in Paris?

First and above all, for General de Gaulle, demonstrable proof that France can talk directly to the Russians, without the sponsorship of its Anglo-American allies. Then, a demonstration, *particularly beamed at the Americans*, that France is henceforth a power to be reckoned with, whose wishes should be taken into consideration and whose interests should be treated with due respect. This is a matter of principle, beyond a doubt; but it is an absolute principle where General de Gaulle is concerned.

The Russians for their part are not excluding the possibility of some bargaining. In backing up recognition of France as a great power they can, if not reduce, at least attenuate the Franco-German coalition on the Berlin question. Instead of *maintenance* of the status quo in Berlin, there would be *regulation* and *supervision*, in accord with Mr. Macmillan's desires and, it would appear, on the basis of Chancellor Adenauer's disillusionment after his recent trip to the United States, likewise in accord with the desires of the State Department. For the time being, there is absolutely nothing else.

The most interesting possibility is yet to come: General de Gaulle's first speech after Mr. Khrushchev's visit to France; the first speech or, rather, the first secret memorandum he will address to the members of NATO. This will lay the groundwork for the forthcoming visit to the United States of the President of the French Republic.

Jean Daniel

PRE-SUMMIT FEARS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Germany–The Awkward Ally

Bonn

With the approach of the May Summit talks, West German awareness of the susceptibilities of the other Western Powers is becoming increasingly acute. Leading West German newspapers have been noting sadly that the Washington-Bonn entente has become more a matter of convenience than before, and has lost its first postwar flush of enthusiasm. One paper, the *Dusseldorf Mittag*, has been running a series of editorials whose unspoken theme is "Why do the British hate us?" The Franco-German honeymoon has been soured by African accusations that the Federal Republic participated in the Sahara bomb explosion. There has been a certain desperation in Adenauer's latest rallying-cry – "the German people's right of self-determination." Adenauer, and many of his countrymen besides, are beginning to realize that West Germany is increasingly re-

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garded in other Western countries as an awkward ally.

Plenty of events during the last three months have underlined the awkwardness of the alliance. First there were the anti-Semitic outrages. Then came the "second part" of the Oberlaender affair, when the Federal Minister for Refugees began to wilt under the attacks of his own Christian Democratic Party colleagues (previously, his Nazi past aroused only Communist invective and Social Democratic disapproval). Next on the list was the "Spanish adventure" of the Federal Minister of Defense, Franz-Josef Strauss who had been negotiating for military training rights in Spain. To the memories of the mass-murders in Nazi concentration camps were added those of the Nazi airmen in the Spanish civil war, the "Condor Legion" and the martyrdom of Guernica.

This month the Federal Republic suffered a diplomatic setback when the state of Guinea decided to accord the rank of Ambassador to its charge d'affaires in East Berlin, Seydou Conte. The so-called "Hallstein doctrine" – under which the Federal Republic will cut off direct relations with any state which recognizes the East German Republic – was called in question. Was Adenauer's Government to implement the "doctrine" at once, and sever relations with Guinea? It would be a painful step to take, for West German hopes of expanding trade with African countries are very high and are based on the comfortable reflection that Germany cannot be identified with "Western colonialism" – after losing Togoland, the Cameroons and the rest in 1919. In its dilemma the Federal Government was also aware of the embarrassment such action would cause its Western allies – a diplomatic boycott of Guinea could only succeed with US, French and British backing.

A hint of utter and ultimate hopelessness was offered when the Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, Vladimir Smirnov, saw the leaders of the Social and Free Democratic parties, Erich Ollenhauer and Erich Mende. The Social Democrats kept the content of Ollenhauer's interview secret; the Free Democrats talked, a little, about it. What Smirnov had to say is now fairly clear. He denied that there was any chance of the Soviet Union accepting the solution of a united but militarily neutral Germany, ready to bind itself to recognize the Oder-Neisse line and to eschew the manufacture or use of nuclear arms. Smirnov repeated the "Ulbricht thesis" for Germany – that of a two-state confederation which would only grow together as the West German state came to accept the "benefits" of a People's Democracy, socialization of heavy industry, collectivization of the land and the purging of "fascists and militarists" from public life. Erich Mende has explained to me that lack of progress at the Summit talks might leave the German people with only one political course, the formation of a "national" government of all the talents. What Smirnov had to say must have convinced him that this is indeed all the West Germans can do in the face of the prospect of eternal division of Germany.

And just how far is Western Germany from any prospect of a truly "national" administration, whose unity and authority would give so much more weight to the voice of the Federal Republic? One example of Social Democratic reluctance to sign-up with the Devil (Adenauer) is illustrative. On January 22 the Federal Chancellor told the Pope that God had given the German people a special task to be the guardian of the West against the "penetrative" influences from the East. One of the Social Democrat's principal spokesmen on foreign affairs, Gustav Heinemann, has asked by what revelation Adenauer interprets the will of God and whether he is not thus rejuvenating the Nazi idea of a crusade against Bolshevism. Dr. Heinemann calls this "the logical expression of Christian Democratic ideology," perhaps forgetting that he was once a member of the Christian Democratic Party during the formative years of its ideological build-up. Nor is it effrontery to suggest that Germans should man this wall; they were asked to do so when they were invited into NATO.

Still, the West German state remains an awkward ally, not least because the whole force of Communist propaganda has been directed to proving that this is so. Western Europe is being saturated with accusations against the Federal Republic, against its Government, individual Ministers, political parties, judiciary and social fabric. Millions of copies of the Czech pamphlet "Criminals in Judges' Robes" have been distributed free in Western countries, millions more of the story of the "Unteachables," the Sudetan Germans who still long for the old homes from which they were driven in 1945. The crypto-Communists who stand behind the "Peace Committee" – six of whose members are on trial before a Dusseldorf court – are able to send out daily reports of the trial to the press of the non-Communist world. The amount of money being spent by the Communists on denigrating the Federal Republic must be stupendous. And some of this propaganda is bound to have a measure of success over the years.

In Western countries other than the Federal Republic there are plenty of people who ask today why German chestnuts should be pulled out of the fire, and why a status quo in East Germany which has come to stay should not be tacitly recognized. Many of these people bear no especial ill-will toward Germany; at the same time they have no idea of the bitter frustrations which assail the rulers of the Federal Republic, and the strains and stresses which are laid across the backs of its people. Their desire to shed responsibilities in Central Europe is given fresh impetus whenever some heavy-footed German in a position of authority lurches into another ambush of accusation and anger. Leading Western statesmen understand this; many of their countrymen do not.

Terence Prittie

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BARBADOS

An Example Worth Study by the South

Southern champions of racial purity have warned often enough against our attaining the state of "mongrelization" they see in certain Latin countries. But they completely ignore a far more interesting parallel for the Southern states, namely the British West Indies. There, Negro majorities have wrested political power from the white minorities, but this has not brought about any greater mixing of the racial blood streams. Whites are still predominant in commercial enterprises and while it would be untrue to say that the white businessman doesn't complain about Negro politicians and regret his own race's loss of power in politics, his words do not differ from those of his counterpart in the United States when talking about the iniquities of those responsible for the New Deal.

There are a sprinkling of white faces in the various island legislatures and one or two in most of the cabinets, but all key posts and the vast majority of government positions, whether appointive or elective, are held by Negroes. The general level of the culture and education of the Negro political leaders bears comparison with that in most parts of the United States. Their political philosophy tends toward socialism, but they recognize their islands' need of private capital and make laws to safeguard it.

The island that offers the pattern most worthy of study by those who worry about Negroes "taking over" certain areas of the Deep South is Barbados. There, Negroes have moved forward steadily within the framework of British culture, which is well established in the island. They are loyal to British political institutions. The churches are probably the most important cultural influence in the lives of the people. There have been excellent schools for a long time and there are few illiterates. The more studious of the sons and daughters have gone to British universities for several generations and the island has produced more than its share of intellectual leaders. A Barbadian Negro has been President of the Oxford Union. Some of the leading cricketers of the world have been Barbadians.

Political organization follows closely that of Britain. Representative government in the island dates from the establishment of its House of Assembly in 1639. Change has been gradual from its original composition of white landowners to the present one where Socialism is dominant and a white face a rarity. This was not accomplished without protest nor without some disorder, but the British Crown was always a stabilizing influence and British education made the triumph of democracy possible. While Negroes occupy all important political posts, commerce is still in the hands of white men, many belonging to families of long standing who once controlled the island politically. The two races have established a working accord under which each respects the position and interests of the other, but their relations seem to follow unwritten rules observed by both sides. At all levels of society there are inter-racial contacts that are cordial but tinged with formality. At state functions, for instance, men and women of both races mix freely and, at the same level of society, the white businessmen and the Negro politicians and government officials receive each other and their wives at large cocktail parties. (Private clubs established by whites do not admit Negro members, however, and the Negro efforts to establish clubs of their own have not succeeded.)

Among intellectuals there is little racial self-consciousness. The schools of the island are segregated by sex not race – Negro children being of course in the majority in both the boys' and the girls' schools. There are several private schools for white girls only, but most white boys attend the government-supported schools.

There are people of mixed race in the island. They are mostly the product of illicit intercourse, which was once common but does not seem to be a problem under modern social conditions. Racial intermarriage is confined almost entirely to cases where a Negro man has brought a white wife from abroad and such couples have difficulty in finding niches for themselves in any social group. The other islanders of the British West Indies tend to be critical of the Barbadians for being a little too conservative in their relations with the white minority. The most frequently heard comment is that Negro servants in Barbados still use such terms of respect as "Sir" and "Mam" when talking with their white employers and the latters' guests! To an outsider, however, the difference between Barbados and other British islands is only one of degree. All of them are alike in essentials. The Negroes have developed an educated class and through the democratic process have acquired political power, but the whites have neither been downtrodden nor had their blood more diluted. One class of white that has certainly suffered is the politicians, which may explain the failure of our Southern leaders to call attention to the society being developed in the British West Indies.

S. Walter Washington

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Louis J. Halle

No Strings Attached?

Harry Simple is back asking questions. What is the purpose of US foreign aid? Mr. Halle, with whom he argues, is the author of "Dream and Reality: Aspects of American Foreign Policy."

"What do you mean, 'no strings attached'?" Harry Simple asked.

I had been deploring the disposition which the Congress of the United States has shown in the past to make conditions for the granting of Point Four assistance to underdeveloped countries. We all know how sensitive the governments and peoples of these countries are. If we make our technical assistance to them conditional, then that assistance can be regarded only as a means of subverting their sovereignty and reducing them to a new kind of colonialism.

All enlightened people know this. Everybody says it. The trouble with Harry is that he thinks it must therefore be a sort of cliché, without any real meaning.

"When I say that we should give our aid with 'no strings attached'," I answered, "I mean what everybody else means. We shouldn't try to limit the freedom of the recipient countries by making our aid conditional."

"Would it be wrong," asked Harry, "to refuse to give money for an agricultural development program except under conditions that insured its not being spent to build a tennis-court for the Minister of Agriculture?"

"Well," I said, "– after all! We can't insult these underdeveloped countries by acting as if they would divert resources earmarked for the high social purposes to which they are dedicated – that they would divert them to corrupt private ends!"

"Unfortunately," said Harry, "the governments of many underdeveloped countries, probably of most, are corrupt. Corrupt government is one of the common manifestations of underdevelopment."

"In any case," I said, "that is not really what is meant by 'no strings attached'. No one is going to object to having some kind of accounting of how our assistance is used, or to having our representatives on the spot keep themselves informed. There certainly has to be some kind of understanding that our assistance is to be used only for the programs of social and economic development for which it is given. But the programs, themselves, have got to be the country's own programs, not programs that we impose on it."

"OK," said Harry, "then let's suppose another case. Suppose a city is in urgent need of a sewage-system. As it is, the sewage runs through the streets and everybody has dysentery. We give the government a grant for a health-and-sanitation program – 'no strings attached'. The local politicos don't care about a sewage-system, since they don't get political kudos out of what is underground and out of sight. So the grant goes into building a marble palace to house the Ministry of Health, or into a big shiny hospital that the city can't use because it doesn't have doctors and nurses to staff it. (Such things have happened, you know.) The local government gets its kudos, but the city continues without a sewage-system. Do results like this justify our assistance with 'no strings attached'?"

"Look," I said, "I don't exclude having our technical advisers help the local people in working out their program. If they want the money for a public building and we think it ought to go into sewer-pipes – well, there wouldn't be anything wrong with suggesting to them that Congress and American public opinion might react badly – or something like that."

"In that case," said Harry, "we are insisting on the program we want rather than the program they want."

"The real point," I said, "is that there must be no *political* strings attached. We mustn't make our assistance conditional on their siding with us in the Cold War, or voting against our opponents in the UN. That sort of thing."

"What," Harry asked, "is the purpose of the assistance?"

"Why," I said, "to strengthen the free world and help keep it free."

"That's a political purpose, isn't it?"

"Call it that if you will."

"Would that purpose justify our assistance to a country that was going over or had gone over to the enemies of freedom?"

"If the country did that," I said, "we wouldn't give it the assistance."

"Then there *are* political strings attached."

"Look, Harry," I said, "the trouble with you is that you take everything so literally. I'm just talking about the spirit of the thing. And I still say, we ought to give our assistance with no strings attached."

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MEXICO

A Revolution Gone Bankrupt

by Howard T. Young

The famous Mexican revolution of 1910, Latin America's first truly social upheaval, gives every impression today of being a revolution bankrupt in ideas, more determined to preserve the old landmarks than to blaze new trails. What began as one of the great social reform drives of the 20th Century has been sidetracked into a mad race to lift Mexico out of the ranks of underprivileged nations, and to do it fast enough to parallel the population boom. In this sense, Mexico may have embarked on another kind of revolution, but her old one is moribund.

Revolutions have a way of running down, but Mexico at the moment is in danger of stifling the democratic advances which, tenuous though they may be, were fought for again and again during the chaotic decade from 1910 to 1920, when *los de abajo*, the underdogs, kept rebelling in a passionate, almost pointless way because they knew things might be better. Every time they were betrayed, they rose again, until Carranza unwillingly promulgated the famous 1917 constitution, and certain precedents were established.

These were: (1) Mexican possession of the subsoil; (2) organization and collective bargaining for labor; (3) disposition of the church's temporal power; (4) division of huge landed estates among the peasants. As Hubert Herring remarked, the constitution was a declaration of war upon the clergy, the *hacendados*, and employers. It was also a warning to foreign interests which exploited Mexican land, oil wells and mines.

Those who fought their way to power have become the *ancien regime*, and for them the revolution perforce ceases to exist, although in every public utterance they pay lip service to it, and its mystique is still official. The Colonel Blimp of the pungent Mexican cartoonist Abel Quezada is a wealthy, portly gentleman, whose nose is encased in a diamond ring, and whose analysis of Mexican ills, delivered from an expensive leather chair, takes the line that if more Mexicans worked harder the country would be better off. This is all the more difficult to swallow because 40 years ago this same high-riding gentleman might very well have been risking his neck against the *federalistas*, or riding, minus a few pounds, for Villa or Obregón.

La región más transparente, a 1958 novel by the young left-wing intellectual Carlos Fuentes, has a character who nicely typifies this present-day "revolutionary." He has fought his way up the social ladder to become a banker. He feels he represents Mexican progress and the practical achievements of the revolution. In reality, his ambition has become the conquest of more power, and instead of abetting the revolution, he is detaining it by making it an abstraction in the name of which his every deed or misdeed is absolved.

The spirit of the revolution reached its height under the Presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40). Selected as a possible dupe, he made himself into Mexico's best-loved President. He took the Constitution of 1917 as the letter of the law and personally saw that each article was faithfully administered. This included the confiscation of US and British oil wells in 1938. He visited much of Mexico on muleback, literally returning thousands of acres to the Indians. The huge Mexican labor unions grew to power under him. Social security laws were developed. As a result, Cárdenas is still widely admired by the rank and file, and it is said, perhaps erroneously, that a signal from him could set Mexico ablaze again. (His visit to Cuba in the summer of 1959 in support of Castro was widely hailed in many parts of Mexico and Latin America.)

The turning point came under the administration of Miguel Alemán (1946-52). First, the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) was established beyond the slightest doubt as the absolute political power. It is in effect a dictatorial party. Opposition parties are permitted, like Mississippi Republicans, to exist, but they can never win. PRI could not lose an election unless the army turned against it. True suffrage, envisaged as an ideal by the revolutionaries, is represented as something completely impractical for Mexico, at least for another generation. That this is done under the guise of democratic balloting and that the electorate does hold some power locally does not diminish the essentially dictatorial nature of national politics.

Second, President Alemán and his advisers decided

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that the answer to Mexico's economic woes was industrialization, and a program for the construction and promotion of new industries was given a send-off that still has impetus today. A predominantly agricultural country began its struggle to catch up industrially. The gross national product more than doubled between 1944 and 1958. The total national output has risen more rapidly than the population, and many economists now feel that Mexico has made an economic breakthrough. But the problem in Mexico, and it is an ancient one, is how to obtain a fairer distribution of income. The share of national income going to profits increased at the expense of that going to wages from 1940 to 1950. The workers' buying power, in the face of inflation, has fallen 30 percent since 1949.

In an economy desperately trying to expand, investment for capital goods reduced budget funds for education, social security and agricultural improvement. Fortunately, the new President, Lopez Mateos, may have begun to stem this tide: His first-year budget showed a slight decline for economic investment and a 27 percent increase in spending for social development, including education.

The Growing Unrest

Another item which is causing more and more unrest is the increasing amount of US capital invested in Mexico. Under Alemán, the government began to solicit Yankee money in order to foster economic growth. The success of the solicitation has provided marvelous propaganda for the Communists and has caused sincere dismay among left-wing intellectuals and some conservatives, also. A poor neighbor has enough trouble looking objectively at a rich neighbor. It does not help when the rich neighbor also owns a controlling interest in much of the income the poor neighbor does have.

The government is committed to this expansion, and in terms of output it has done a tremendous job. Nevertheless, millions have benefited hardly at all from the rise in per capita income. The national minimum wage is 12 pesos a day (96 cents), but agricultural workers never come close to it. Their condition is still one of a subsistence at a near-starvation level.

Furthermore, as Eric Wolf of the University of Chicago recently pointed out, apart from the cities, the area of greatest economic expansion is the arid northern provinces, where capital enters at a rapid rate. But there are no Indian communities here, and the great Indian masses of the central plateau remain marginal as always to economic development.

It is instructive to look at the present social and political situation from the viewpoint of recent labor agitation. The unions grew to gigantic proportions under the aegis of Cárdenas. Today, they are ponderous and corrupt bureaucracies, organized as the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), whose boss is Fidel Velázquez. The CTM dictates strike policies, wage demands and the election of all union officers.

Rank-and-file union members, caught in the squeeze of inflation and disgusted by the corruption of union officers on government payrolls, have long been restless, and recently several unsuccessful attempts were made to found independent unions. At the beginning of 1958, a series of strikes involving railroad workers and elementary school teachers set the stage for an internecine power struggle within the unions.

Othón Salazar led a strike of elementary teachers in April, 1958. It attracted public attention because of the notoriously low wages of teachers and because it was a wildcat strike, not approved by the powerful CTM's education unit. In June his teachers were given a 19 percent wage increase. Meanwhile, Othón Salazar's popularity led him to run for office in the CTM teachers' union. He lost to the government candidate and called a strike. Police put him in prison and later broke up, with shocking brutality, a protest demonstration. (An army Colonel eyewitness protested police tactics and was himself hustled off to jail.) When López Mateos was inaugurated as President in January, 1959, he released Othón Salazar, who meanwhile had become a symbol for independent labor. Salazar, incidentally, admits former membership in the Communist Party.

A more bitter and far-reaching battle occurred in the railworkers' union. In June, 1958, Demetrio Vallejo, a former Communist who was expelled from the party in 1946 when he refused to support Alemán's industrialization program, organized a wildcat strike. His men were not permitted to vote in union elections as their punishment, and he ordered strikes off and on for the rest of the year, seriously tying up the economy at unexpected moments. Token shutdowns for an hour each day made efficiency impossible. López Mateos, who was expected to be soft on labor, was finally forced to crack down on him, and he was arrested in March, 1959, and charged with conspiring with Soviet agents. The army was ordered to run the railroads. Vallejo remains under custody, but his followers, known as *vallejistas*, are still struggling to set up an independent railworkers' union.

A year of labor unrest and wildcat strikes had been laid at the door of the Communists, and it was under this rationalization that the government finally decided to intervene. Significantly enough, however, certain conservative elements have called the cards differently, charging government intervention as *macartismo de huarache* (McCarthyism in sandals). The highly conservative paper *Excelsior* said rightly that in the long run CTM's bureaucracy could benefit only the Communists. And Father Pedro Velázquez, the head of a Catholic social movement, blamed the labor revolts on corrupt union officials rather than on Soviet-trained agitators. Perhaps the best estimate of Communist influence was

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given by Stanford University's *Hispanic American Report* when it said that "the Reds were on the bandwagon but not steering it."

One thing is certain. Independent labor movements in Mexico must navigate between powerful government opposition on one hand and Communist domination on the other, a fairly perilous course.

Place of the Intellectuals

In considering Mexico, the Anglo-Saxon observer should realize that a developed social conscience is not one of the characteristics of Hispanic society. The rich still live much as they did under Porfirio Díaz or, for that matter, under the viceroys. They reside in the *Lomas de Chapultepec*, drive Cadillacs, live behind stout iron fences, and maintain watchdogs, whose fierce chorus is part of Mexico's night sounds. The *nouveau riche* make unseemly haste to shed any traces of their plebeian past. And those rich by inheritance still recall the "good old days" of Díaz when the Indians respected a man enough to get off the sidewalk as he passed by.

Public propaganda does its best to develop a middle-class social conscience patterned on the United States, and to a limited degree has succeeded. Still, it is significant that to date the only well-organized opposition party is a conservative one. PAN (National Action Party), an avowedly Catholic group whose strength lies in the northern states of Chihuahua and Baja California. Unfortunately, it harps on the political brutality of PRI and little else, and it probably appeals mainly to hidebound traditionalists, of whom there are many.

In Mexico, as throughout all of Spanish America, most of the talented young writers, artists and professors are decidedly radical, sometimes Marxists in the pre-Stalin sense, sometimes Communists, sometimes liberal humanists, but nearly always anti-United States, and one of the major faults of the United States Information Service and of our cultural attaches is that they fail to communicate with this large body of intellectuals. Instead, the same so-called respectable or conservative intellectuals keep reappearing at all US-sponsored functions, and we are put in the position of constantly preaching to the converted. (Yet in Latin America, where education is not widespread, it is these intellectuals who respond to ideas. As one of them recently said, an intellectual in their society is by definition culpable.) Undoubtedly, there is a hard core of them who are bitterly anti-Yankee and who would reject automatically any overtures. But there are many humanists of genuine liberal, often utopian sentiments, who know about United States democracy, but are more interested in discovering our ideas about the future in positive terms instead of in the completely negative, anti-Communist terms, which have been the leitmotiv of the State Department since McCarthy. When someone at a staff meeting of the USIS recently grumbled about seeing the same Mexican intellectuals over and over again, he was sourly reminded that Washington would be very apprehensive if certain other Mexican intellectuals appeared at functions of the USIS.

There are two focal points for that left-wing opposition which is not completely Communist dominated. One is the highly respected and very intellectual monthly *Cuadernos Americanos*, directed by Jesus Silva Herzog, a venerable liberal. His desire is simply for honest government in Mexico and a more equitable distribution of wealth. His opinion of the United States is colored by his fear of atomic holocaust. He believes neither Russia nor the US has the right to pollute the world. His is a moral voice dismissed in US embassy circles as soft and unrealistic. Nevertheless, his idealism represents an avenue through which US culture should be making a rapprochement with Mexico.

Another source of opposition from the Left is a little magazine called *el espectador*. It was founded in 1959 by Jaime Garcia Terres, a poet and leftist professor at the University of Mexico, and Carlos Fuentes, a talented young novelist, and also a rich young man with a conscience, who has said, "The Left is humanism or it is a farce." Despite much harassment and actual invasion of the printing office by police, the magazine continues to appear. One of its stated goals is the unification of the Mexican Left. Another is the further fulfillment of the Constitution of 1917, which it believes is subordinated to the interests of the new ruling class. The magazine is decidedly anti-US and very pro-Castro. These left-wing intellectuals have hailed the Cuban revolution as the greatest since their own, and they equate US Government reaction to it with Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson's meddling in the affairs of Madero in the days after the fall of Diaz. As Fuentes recently observed, "Democracy will be pure appearance in Latin America as long as there is no basic reform of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal production system. I don't think the North American Government would ever accept this reform. I think the North American people might." Whether he is right or not, US officials are less interested in answering him publicly than in denouncing him privately.

If the Mexican revolution is bankrupt, the chances for future solvency do not appear to be very good. If opposition comes from a pseudo-Fascist Right and a Communist Left, with a poorly-organized, over-idealistic intellectual front running through the long middle spectrum, there does not seem to be any hope of voting the PRI out of power.

The challenge confronting Mexico with all the urgency of the economic challenge to which she is responding, is to reactivate her great drive for justice and liberty for all human beings who live within her borders, and not merely for a small minority. That challenge is unavoidably one to US foreign policy as well.

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Come Forth, Dickens!

J. B. Priestley, the English scrivener, may be a shrewd and penetrating critic, or he may be a garrulous old fool, or he may be both, but he comes up now and then with an off-beat idea that gives wings to speculation.

Consider, for example, his recent analysis of Hemingway as an author who developed a style exactly fitting his war experience and has ever since been looking around for experience to fit the style. Not finding it at home, he has had to wander to Spain, to Italy, to Havana, and all over the lot, meanwhile letting the pageant of America pass unnoticed.

The criticism is acute, but its justice hangs upon the assumption that there is a pageant, and that it is susceptible of treatment in the fictional form. The stipulation is not as inane as it may sound. Hemingway is certainly not the only American who seems committed to the theory that his philosophic and spiritual experience for the past few years could be covered as succinctly as Mark Twain did his in the diary he started as a schoolboy. The entries for the first seven days, said Mark, were identical; they all read, "Got up. Washed. Went to bed." After that, he gave up the idea of becoming a modern Pepys.

Like everyone else whose name appears in print regularly, I receive comments from Americans, some friends, many complete strangers, on a great variety of subjects viewed from many different angles. Recently, however, I noticed what seems to be an increasing trend among the majority; it is a tendency to pose like William Morris as "the idle singer of an empty day."

Such communications are hard to answer. Indeed, if a writer is sensitive enough to be galled by the vapidity of the times, shall his complaint be answered with a tut-tut? Should it not rather be approved and fomented? Certainly it is far more admirable than smug complacence, aimless and bootless though it may be.

It is precisely here that the Priestley comment becomes something more than a crack at an eminent literary person. Perhaps it is a comment not on Hemingway alone, but on the American intellectual, whether novelist, historian, philosopher, editor or politician. Perhaps what ails most of us is a vague and fruitless effort to find in the United States of 1960 experience adapted to a previously-developed style. Naturally, such an effort is bound to interfere with, if not to inhibit entirely, any effort to develop a style adapted to our special American experience.

This is not offered as an assertion of fact, or even as a persuasive theory, but purely as a speculation. For my part, I confess that I am at a loss to apply it. To what imaginable human experience, for example, is the Eisenhower style adapted? That it is adapted is obvious from more than the election returns. It affords to millions a satisfaction that neither Pater, nor Proust, nor Faulkner, nor even Mortimer Adler can supply; but the nature of that satisfaction is beyond my grasp; which is certainly a partial explanation of why I shall never be accounted an eminent literary person.

Mr. Priestley argues that a novelist of the calibre of Charles Dickens would know the answer and by supplying it would enchant the *illuminati* and the Philistines alike. No doubt he is right, but why confine it to novelists? A politician throwing an equivalent weight of metal would be equally effective.

For one thing, he would be able to restate liberalism in terms comprehensible to the generation born during the depression, which is more than can be done by one whose style was formed under Woodrow Wilson, or modeled thereon. The mudsill of political liberalism is in the phrase, "The right is more precious than peace," a Wilsonian assertion; but it is my considered belief that the line might be written in Hittite for all the significance it communicates to the present generation.

Why? It may be a matter of style. It must be something of the kind, for the alternative, that there has been some biological mutation of the species in the past thirty years, is nonsense. But if the modification that interrupts communication is psychological, then the onus of understanding it rests upon liberal leadership.

Is it conceivable that instead of diligently laboring to master the new style we have been wandering to Spain, and Italy and Havana seeking experience adapted to our old style? It is a disconcerting idea, but it cannot be shrugged off. It explains too much.

Incidentally, it throws us back toward the Great Man theory of history; for if a man endowed with political or philosophical genius comparable to the literary genius of Charles Dickens is the liberals' one hope of being renaturalized in modern America, then all most of us can do is stand by and pray.

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The Shortage of Doctors

by Alexander S. Morrow

The American Medical Association insists that the "shortage" of physicians is largely imaginary, that except in a few rural areas Americans can readily obtain high-quality medical care and that there is generally available as much medical service as consumers have the desire and income to buy. It believes too that any large-scale effort to broaden the effective demand for medical services will fail because the country does not have a sufficient number of physicians to make such an effort feasible. Nor, the AMA says, can we expand substantially the supply of physicians in the near future. And why is that? Because of limited medical school facilities, as well as a shortage of applicants qualified to meet the high admission standards.

Obviously, if there can be no substantial increase in the number of physicians, then efforts to extend medical services by governmental programs would be of dubious benefit. The quality of medical care would decline if there were an increase in the demand for medical care without a parallel rise in the number of physicians. But is the AMA's analysis sound?

Since 1900, the country's population has more than doubled, while the number of physicians has increased only about 35 percent. There were 149,000 physicians in 1900, 145,404 in 1921 and 211,680 in 1951. Yet there has been a sharp climb in the per capita *demand* for medical services over the 60 years, for which rising incomes, the advances in medicine, and the greater proportion of infants and aged people are responsible.

The 1921 ratio of physicians to population (134 per 100,000 persons) has remained virtually stationary and is expected to decline in the years ahead. But even this figure does not give a true picture of the *availability* of medical care. For example, there has been a big jump in the number of salaried physicians employed by industrial concerns. Generally, they examine job applicants as well as employees injured during work, devoting little or no time to the treatment of sick people. Likewise, more and more physicians are engaged in other types of service, such as research and administration. Several years, ago, Dr. Howard A. Rusk estimated that 13 percent of all physicians were then occupied with activities other than the treatment of illness.

Why the doctor shortage? For one thing, the number of medical schools in the US has declined from 160 to under 80. As early as 1904, the AMA established the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals and assigned it the task of raising the level of medical education in this country. Many of the medical schools were then substandard in admission requirements and in courses offered. The Council, in addition to driving out of existence inferior medical schools, sought to affiliate medical schools with universities, so that more rigorous scientific procedures would prevail. This campaign was reinforced in 1910 when Abraham Flexner prepared his famous report. Mr. Flexner criticized severely American medical education, stating that "progress for the future would seem to require a very much smaller number of medical schools, better equipped and better conducted than our schools now as a rule are."

The Council also formulated various criteria to which medical schools were expected to conform if they wished to be placed on the Council's list of approved institutions. Most state boards of medical licensure cooperated with the Council in framing their policies.

Undoubtedly, all this helped to raise the level of American medical education. What is of special interest, though, is that no effort was made to replace substandard schools with others meeting the higher standards. The number of medical students dropped from 21,256 in 1909 to 14,088 in 1919. Since that time, the number had edged upward to the present figure of approximately 28,000. It would be naïve, of course, to assume the AMA was unmindful of the economic advantages that would accrue to its members from keeping medical practitioners in short supply. As James Howard Means, MD, has noted: "A very important fact to remember about the American Medical Association . . . is that it has a split personality – a Jekyll and Hyde affair. As Jekyll, it is a meritorious, scientific body collecting and disseminating medical information for the good of humanity. As Hyde, it is a guild exerting pressure in the interest of its members."

Apparently, the Hyde aspect of AMA is still very much to the fore. Since 1949, AMA has been fighting enactment of measures by Congress that would provide federal aid to medical, dental, nursing, and public health schools, or any federal funds for operating expenses, new construction and student scholarships. Increased grants for research have not been opposed, but any legislation that would lead to a greater supply of physicians is resisted strenuously.

Yet no one disputes that medical schools require additional funds. Tuition fees accounted in 1910 for 70 percent of all funds expended by medical schools. By

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1947, tuition fees totaled only 28 percent of comparable funds, and because of mounting costs, this figure of 28 percent is undoubtedly too high today. At the same time, high taxes paid by those in upper-income brackets have reduced donations and gifts.

The AMA's resistance takes place despite more medical schools being needed *merely to maintain the present proportion of physicians to a rising population.* Thus, Dr. Vernon W. Lippard, Dean of the School of Medicine at Yale, points out that we would have to add 22 medical schools if, by 1975, we are to have the *present* physician-population ratio. And the initial investment required to set up one medical school, according to Dean Lippard, is $50 million. Only the federal government is able to provide these tremendous outlays.

In a desperate effort to stave off federal grants to medical schools, AMA in 1950 launched the American Medical Education Foundation, an agency for collecting funds from business organizations that would be used to aid medical schools to meet operating expenses. But the Foundation, as well as the National Fund for Medical Education, set up in 1949, has not been strikingly successful. By 1957, less than $10 million had been collected by both groups.

The Ford Foundation has allocated large sums to medical schools to help them defray operating expenses: $90 million to 44 privately-supported medical schools and $10 million more to private and tax-supported medical schools. Little, however, is being done to *expand* medical school facilities.

Shortages in the supply of physicians are most evident in the various specialties. For example, advances in medicine have led to a greater need for psychiatrists and pediatricians. The American Psychiatric Association declares that up to 30,000 psychiatrists are needed today; there are only about 11,000, however. AMA's physician placement service reports that there are three openings for each psychiatrist it has available.

Medical research is also suffering. Dr. Stenhope Bayne-Jones of the Army's Surgeon General's Office asserts that by 1970 an *additional* 25,000 physicians will be required for medical research alone.

We must take into account too the serious regional maldistribution of physicians. In the Northeastern states, there are 175 physicians for each 100,000 persons. In the Deep South, this ratio drops to 75 per 100,000. On the Pacific Coast, however, there are 125 physicians per 100,000. A major reason for this disparity is that one-third of the states have no medical school; and since many medical schools have quotas on admitting out-of-state residents, this makes it more difficult for such persons to study medicine.

The 1953 report on "Building America's Health," which was prepared by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, stated six premises on the supply of physicians and estimated the number of physicians which each of these would require. They are:

Premise	*Number*
1. Maintain 1940 physician - population ratio	227,000
2. Maintain 1949 physician - population ratio	231,000
3. Maintain 1949 physician-civilian population ratio, meeting military and other mobilization needs	244,000
4. Meet certain specified standards of service	263,000
5. Bring low regions to 1949 average physician-civilian population ratio and meet military needs	255,000
6. Bring all regions to 1949 physician-civilian population ratio prevailing in New England and Middle Atlantic states and meet military needs	292,000

We will have in 1960 about 230,000 physicians.

Only about one third of all applicants are being accepted for admission by medical schools, and spokesmen for the medical profession say that more applicants could not be accepted without lowering the level of competence. Yet, with the sharp growth in the number of persons attending college, it should not be too difficult to increase the number of college graduates who are qualified to study medicine.

The doctor shortage has led to the phenomenon of the "coolie" MD: a foreign-trained physician recruited abroad to work as a resident in an American hospital. Generally, he is paid from $140 to $180 a month plus maintenance. Indeed, the large-scale recruiting of foreign physicians has prevented the breakdown of medical care in the hospitals of this country. Because of Blue Cross and other factors mentioned here, more people are now going to hospitals for medical care. There has been a huge rise in the demand for resident physicians. By 1957, the number had grown to over 19,000.

Medical school graduates, who serve as internes for one year, are not numerous enough to meet this demand, and physicians will not accept posts as residents because of the meager salaries. So in the last 10 years, about 10,000 foreign-trained physicians have been persuaded by various means such as advertisements in foreign journals to come and work as residents.

AMA's attitude toward the foreign-trained physicians serving as residents is illuminating. Just as the Association supported policies tending to restrict the number of medical students, so it traditionally has viewed the foreign-trained physician with a jaundiced eye on the ground that his training too often is inferior. Yet the AMA has welcomed the foreign-trained physician – when he comes here to fill the meagerly paid position that is shunned by American practitioners.

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Polls, Pollsters and Politicians in '60

by Richard M. Scammon

In Wisconsin these past few weeks, a private poll by the Louis Harris organization on Presidential preferences has become a much quoted (and misquoted) issue in the April 5 primary fight between Kennedy and Humphrey. The findings of another survey on Stevenson's image in 1952 and 1956 are being cited to show that the Democrats can't afford to nominate Stevenson a third time. And back last December, when Governor Rockefeller gave Vice President Nixon a most welcome Christmas present, columnists surmised that he had decided not to challenge Nixon because the polls scared him off; and some went on to suggest that true statesmen chart their various courses independent of what pollsters might tell them about the preferences of the public.

Precisely what is polling? It can be divided into two broad types: the public, published, overt public opinion polls of the Gallup and Roper type and the private customer polls done by organizations like that of Louis Harris. The Gallup polls printed in many of the nation's newspapers are done regularly to test public attitudes, and though they may have greater reader interest at election-time, they are essentially year-round surveys. The Harris-type polls, on the other hand, are tailored surveys, done "on order" for a specific customer. Gallup has few competitors in the public field, the chief ones being Elmo Roper and the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, whose polls of nationwide elections are Foundation-financed. For two decades the magazine *The Literary Digest* did quadrennial Presidential polls and occasional issue polls as well. But it came a cropper in 1936, when it predicted a solid victory for Republican candidate Alf Landon. Actually, the *Digest* did pretty well so long as economic groups in the country voted more or less alike. *Digest* polling was essentially a massive straw vote, with ballots mailed out to millions of names taken from lists of car owners and telephone subscribers. When the Americans who *weren't* on such lists started voting very differently from those who *were*, out went the *Digest*. Though it printed a frank "Is Our Face Red!" cover just after the election, frankness wasn't enough to save it. The Gallup operation started just as the *Digest* straw vote was collapsing, and its techniques of survey interviewing are the basis of most sophisticated current polling.

But if survey interviewing is the most sophisticated kind of polling it certainly isn't the only kind. Mail polls and straw votes at the county fair are still popular – and occasionally they are right. But even if "Joe's Barber Shop Poll" *was* accidentally right in 1956, there is no reason to believe it will be in 1960, though some off-beat poll will come up with the right results. In 1948, when all the sophisticated samplers were wrong, Senate Secretary Leslie Biffle made a tour of the country in the guise of a butter-and-egg salesman, and came back to report Truman would be re-elected. But Biffle was a Democrat of great faith, and nobody believed him.

Another kind of polling is that done by political reporters, and one horrible example of this has been cited by Governor DiSalle of Ohio. In one campaign a conscientious reporter stood at the door of an office building and asked people as they came out what their preference might be. Responses were correctly tallied and correctly reported, but they turned out to be exactly opposite to the eventual results. Joe Alsop does "scouting" for his newspaper columns, and often comes up with interesting voter observations, but intermittent activity like this always runs the dangers of semi-scientific sampling. One Alsop column, for example, described a Queens County area where the voters were enthusiastic for Jack Kennedy, but it turned out the district was just as highly Catholic as it was enthusiastic for the Senator. Best regarded of the political journalists who regularly scout out elections is Sam Lubell, and in Lubell's case the selection of samples is a high art. But Lubbell has moved out of the ordinary reporting category and is a sort of one-man analyst-polling operation all to himself.

Despite the wide variety of opinion-seeking mechanisms, it is into *organized* polls that most of the 1960 money will go, for here chances of being wrong are lowest. What can be established as the general characteristics of this type of operation? How are results arrived at? Who does what to come up with the figures finally published in the press or supplied an anxious client? How is it possible to know who will win in Wisconsin, or

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what the voters in San Diego, Calif., most care about?

We must keep in mind that the whole concept of polling depends upon taking a few cases as representative of the total. The method is not unique. Wheat inspectors will take a small sample of a given grain shipment to establish the grading of the whole shipment. Wine tasters will take a sip or two to determine the quality of a whole type and vintage; they could drink a complete bottle if they wished, but it isn't necessary.

This is why national samples for public opinion and voter research rarely exceed 5,000 interviews – and are usually less. Experience has shown that the first few thousand persons interviewed will give the end result just as well as 50,000 – or a million. If every voter had his name on a nationwide list the sampling process would be simple. In a list of 100 million, start (by chance) anywhere you want and take every ten-thousandth name – your sample would be complete. And the laws of chance are such that it would give you about the right percentage of young and old, of city dwellers and farmers, of men and women, of rich and poor. In a country like Israel, where such a list *is* available, "drawing a sample" is the least of the pollster's worries.

A Matter of Chance

But in this country the job is more complex and "draws" are most often made upon variations of a probability sample. Briefly stated, the purpose of the probability sample is to give every person an equal chance of being selected as an interviewee and to make the actual choice of the individual picked as much a matter of chance as possible. Areas of the country to be polled – cities, perhaps, or Congressional districts, or other subdivisions – will be determined by chance, then townships or other parts of these areas will be picked – also by chance – to make the sample as completely impersonal as possible. Since so much of the accuracy of any poll depends on its sample, polling organizations are constantly working to improve sampling methods.

Along with the drawing of a sound sample for his polling operation, the survey researcher must also develop an unbiased and useful set of questions for his interviewers to put to people. No pollster is going to the field with the sort of thing sometimes found in questionnaires mailed out by Congressmen to their constituents – "Do you agree with me that all care and caution must be used in spending our national tax money?" A question like this is framed to get a 93 percent favorable reply. Indeed one might even wonder at the eccentricity of the 7 percent who do *not* want care and caution used in spending their money. But it isn't this obvious sort of rigging the pollsters must watch for: it is the framing of a question in several presumably equally appropriate ways. For example, the question: "Are you worried about fallout danger?" might bring a heavy affirmative response. But suppose the question were put: "What are the three or four things that worry you most?" In this case the number of mentions of fallout might be tiny compared to the "yes" answers on the first query.

Over the years the polling community has developed a pretty keen understanding of these question-framing subtleties. From time to time there may be confusion in making up a battery of questions, but the big problem today with practitioners is whether to use "closed" as opposed to "open-end" questions. The closed form would be to ask for a choice between, say Kennedy and Stevenson, for the Democratic nomination. The open question would be to ask the interviewee to name his favorite candidate. A modification of both is also used – to ask the interviewee his preference on a "laundry list" of all the major candidates.

Much of the reliability of a good poll depends, too, on the actual interview – and on the interviewer. Women – usually housewives supplementing the family income – constitute the greater part of the interviewer force for all polls, and their capacities vary. Training of interviewers, review of interviewer work, recruitment of new talent – all these plague the pollsters as they might the personnel people of any other large-scale business. A sympathetic, competent interviewer who goes about her business in a systematic, but not overaggressive way is a jewel much sought after. But competent field supervision can do a great deal to keep up the quality (and quantity) of interviewer talent, and the better-known polling organizations are constantly reviewing their field staffs to build up the best-available womanpower pool.

Questions are often asked about cheating by interviewers, with the implication that a partisan interviewer, or someone who favored this or that candidate might "fix" the reports he sent in. Experience has shown that this practice is very minor. In the unusual situation in which it does occur it can be easily detected because of the sharp difference in pattern between the "fixed" interviews and the rest of the interview reports.

Sometimes pollsters feel there may be a measure of interview "faking," in which a poll taker will start out in the morning, do half-a-dozen interviews, then go back home and simply dream up another 20 contacts. Usually this "faking" is done by writing out the alleged comments of interviewees along the lines indicated by the first six. Claiming he has done his full round of work, the interviewer will then submit all 26 interview forms as legitimate contacts with real people. It is hard to know just how much of this there may be, but poll interview questions have "built-in" safeguards by which the honesty of the interviewer may be verified. Moreover, even the most inventive of us would find it difficult to keep the responses of Potemkin-type interviews as varied as those in the real world.

Once the interview forms themselves are received

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back in the headquarters, the coders go to work transferring to punch cards the data hand-written on the mass of interview sheets. If an immediate "read" is wanted on one or two closed questions it may be that a hand tally of these sheets will be made for an impatient client, but coding is the normal procedure. It is the coder's job to put the basic responses of each interview on to cards which can later be sorted and cross-sorted for a variety of special analyses.

The work is simple enough for candidate answers and straight "yes," "no," and "undecided" queries. It gets more complicated when "open-ended" questions are used and a code must be devised to give a variety of statements some punchable number for use on the card. Thus, statements favoring a candidate on personality may get one code number, those favoring him on some issue may get another, those for him on his record still a third. It is easy to see that the coder's job can be almost infinite, for the responses vary tremendously.

Finally the work of polling must pass to the analyst-writer-editor. Working from the various runs of the punch cards, perhaps supplemented by looking at the original interview sheets, the analyst sits down to figure out what all this means. In a few polling organizations the analyst will actually go out into the field for a few days to do some interviews himself and get a feel of the situation. Others stay away from the field, thus hoping to preserve as detached an evaluation as possible.

As he goes over the data presented him the analyst must not only consider the tabulations before him, he must weigh certain general factors as well. If, for example, the luck of the draw has given him a few more farmer interviews than there should be on a basis of proportions in the known population picture, then the weight of these extra farm interviews must be removed. Moreover, when dealing with political polls, the analyst must consider such variants as turnout percentages of voters, the probable movement of undecided voters, any last minute trends of voting behavior and the like. These and many other factors may alter the pattern shown by the interview sheets, and these possible alterations have to be noted.

In preparing his report the writer can never forget that the political poll is one kind of survey research on which there is going to be a second guess – that of the electorate. The poll operator who is right may get the commendations of the public or his client, but the man who is wrong is going to get plain unadulterated hell from everybody. For the public polls, this can mean loss of newspaper subscribers and a lack of public confidence. For the private pollster, it can mean he goes out of business.

For the polls can be wrong – and have been. The Presidential election in 1948 is the classic example. Every major poll predicted an easy Dewey victory. Elmo Roper even went so far as to stop polling in the early fall because a Dewey victory seemed so obvious. In 1957, in Canada, the major Canadian poll predicted an easy Liberal victory; the Progressive Conservatives, like President Truman, ended up narrow victors. In 1958, in one Western state, a local poll picked an incumbent Republican Congressman for an easy 59-41 win. But the Democratic challenger won by 4,000 votes on a 51-49 percentage count. None of these wrong guesses, save perhaps the last, was more than a few percentage points off, but they were the points that made the difference.

Lately critics of polls have been making another point, and one that is a good deal more legitimate. They note that polling error as seen by the pollsters consists just of subtracting their estimate from the final result. Thus, if the poll says a primary candidate is going to get 40 percent of the vote and he ends up with 20 percent, the poll admits it was off by 20 percent. Actually the error is not 20 percent (one in five), but 20 percentage *points*, which in this case is half the original estimate.

Then there is the problem of error measurement. Suppose a late October, 1960, poll gives a Presidential candidate 57 percent of the vote and he actually gets 52 percent in November. The poll was off 5 percentage points in its estimate. But was this the actual error? Looking at the pattern of Presidential elections going back to 1920, it seems clear that the 1960 vote is not going to be 90-10 either way, nor is it going to be 75-25. Harding, the top Republican of these past 40 years, got

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60 percent in 1920; Roosevelt, the top Democrat, got 60 percent in 1936. So the real range of error here is not 100, but rather 20. No candidate of either party is going above 60 nor below 40. Therefore to be five points off the mark represents an actual error of 25 percent, not five.

Against these errors may be cited one instance in which a poll was probably more correct than the election itself. In the Minnesota Presidential preference primary in March, 1956, Senator Kefauver won an upset victory over Adlai Stevenson. The Minnesota poll, one of the best of the statewide poll organizations, had predicted a Stevenson victory. But the Minnesota poll had asked the Kefauver-Stevenson preference of Democrats only. Checking out individual precincts and counties it can be demonstrated that enough Republican voters crossed over into the Democratic primary to give Kefauver the victory. Among those who normally voted Democratic, the statistics show Stevenson won – and by about the percentage estimated.

Knowing polls can be wrong one might well ask why they flourish, why in 1960 more money than ever before is going to be invested in survey research. The answer lies probably in the growth of the private, client-only type poll. Elmo Roper, in recent correspondence with Sen. Albert Gore,wrote that these were ". . . developing into quite a flourishing business both at the national and state level." It is in the private field that the greater portion of 1960 money will be spent, and the reason is simple: The more political intelligence a candidate or party can gather the better. Let's see how this works.

Should He, Or Should He Not?

Suppose John Smith wants to run for Congress. He knows – or thinks he knows – his district. He has lived in it all his life, knows – or thinks he knows – a thousand voters in the area. With the incumbent retiring this year, he feels this is the time for him to make the race. Just to make sure, he commissions a private poll.

The poll will draw a sample for John Smith's district, build up a set of questions, interview respondents, and code and analyze the views of the interviewees. From the analysis, client Smith may be able to learn a number of things. First, he will probably learn that he is nowhere near as well known as he thought. An embarrassing percentage of voters will never have heard of him. Others will confuse him with a well-known used-car dealer.

Second, he will get a positive and negative profile of what his district likes and doesn't like about him – at least, among those who have any feeling about him one way or another. Some may have heard of him in connection with his being head of the local Community Chest, others as a party leader in his community. Smith was involved a few years back as an attorney for some citizens trying to get a residential area rezoned as commercial, and this will be plus (or minus) among a few respondents. Those who have confused him with the used-car dealer may well judge him on the quality of the car his namesake sold them.

Third, client Smith will get an indication of just what things the district voters are thinking about. He will find that his own guesses about voter interest are likely to be far off the mark. Interest rates on local bonds, for example, mean a lot more to Smith than to most local voters. But rural electrification, on which Smith is totally ignorant, is important in farm counties. And local road maintenance, of which Smith has barely heard, is a hot issue in the Southern quarter of the district.

Fourth, client Smith will get some picture of how the voters divide on ethnic, racial and similar lines. He'll get an idea of the relationship of issues and opinions to the small Negro and Jewish communities in his district, to the somewhat larger Catholic minority, to a large group of second and third generation Norwegians, to the richer and poorer voters, to the young and old, to the men and women. In many instances he'll be told there aren't many distinguishing characteristics in the opinions of various segments of the population, but in some there are – and these are important.

Finally, Smith will get a reading on how he stands in comparison with other potential candidates for his party's nomination, and how he – or the others – might fare against the opposition in November. If he is dealing with a competent polling organization all these analyses will be brought together, put into perspective with the district's past political behavior, and made the basis for suggestions as to how Smith's campaign might be most usefully oriented to win both nomination and election. If the findings so indicate, he may also get a frank suggestion from his pollster that he give up the whole idea.

Now the process by which Smith reaches his decision to run for Congress hasn't changed very much. Smith's grandfather, who ran – and lost – back in 1895, went through about the same mental gymnastics. But by the use of a poll, always presuming of course that the poll is sound and that its findings are relatively accurate, more political intelligence is available to Smith than to his grandfather, most of whose decisions were based on what the various county chairmen told him. Smith still has the views of the county chairmen, but he has a good deal more besides. The knowledge he gains may not make Smith a "better" man – he is still Smith – but it may make him a more successful candidate.

In this sense the poll is simply a better mouse trap. Candidates and parties have always sought to find out what the public feels, and thinks, and wants. The survey researcher seeks to find a more accurate measurement of these thoughts and wants. Some who use polls undoubtedly trim and adjust their views to conform with what they believe people want. Many do not. Ohio's Governor DiSalle, for example, has said he opposes capital punishment; if a poll indicated the people of his state

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favored the death penalty, he would try to change that view, not compromise his own opinion.

Now it is true that many a seeker after public office does try to adapt to the norm of public thought. It is this truth that leads many to fear our politics may become completely "opinionized," with candidates and office holders moving this way or that as the winds of public opinion may drive them. Naturally enough, such a course is hardly new. Many a public man in the years before our Civil War based his stand on slavery on what he thought was the public attitude in his state or district. The poll expands and deepens that possibility.

Leaving aside for the moment the possibility that following public opinion is just what politicians *ought* to do in a democracy, the evidence doesn't bear out this suspicion. There are just too many issues on which the polls have clearly indicated America's mind – and on which nothing has been done. Increased expenditures in the propaganda war, ending of poll taxes, a nationwide Presidential primary – all these are favored in polls of public opinion. None has been translated into action. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska was favored in the polls long, long before they became states.

Nonetheless, the picture of the candidate poring over his polls to see what stand to take on this or that issue persists. The truth is that such a candidate would be poring over anything designed to tell him how people felt if how people felt was the only thing that would dictate his actions. In current political practice the poll is one such device; for a Congressman, mail he gets from his constituents is another; for any public person, the stream of comments and views that are a part of his everyday political life is still a third. The poll is unlikely to change a "motivated" political type into an "opinionized" one – or vice versa.

But towards all polls, whether they be private client-purchased surveys or public soundings like those of Dr. Gallup, there is a real measure of unease. Senator Humphrey put it this way: "People . . . are somewhat resentful of polling. . . . They almost seem to take a delight in confounding the pollsters."

Most recently this "unease" was given special prominence by Sen. Albert Gore. He sent letters to several leading pollsters inquiring about their methods, asking for information about sampling, question-framing, interviewing, poll errors, influence on public opinion, and the like. Extensive replies were received from Elmo Roper, and George Gallup. In commenting on these replies, Senator Gore raised the sample size question and percentage of error problem and went on to speak extensively of the voter ignorance which the polls presumably ignore.

One sample of this voter ignorance was illustrated in Los Angeles, where questions about the Mann Act (the anti-white slave law) resulted in only 12 percent of the respondents knowing what the act was. Further, 38 percent of those questioned favored repealing the law, with 10 percent opposed. To further develop his case, Senator Gore had his staff do some interviewing in voteless Washington and found a surprising number of citizens whose choice for President was John Eisenhower or Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. – names picked from a "laundry list" of candidates. Senator Gore would surely have the agreement of every survey researcher on this point of voter ignorance. There isn't a pollster in the business who can't come up with a batch of examples to match the Mann Act case or the Gore Presidential poll.

The "Band Wagon" Effect

Another of Mr. Gore's concerns, and indeed of all those who are skeptical of polls, is the alleged "band wagon" effect they develop. Certainly 1948 should have killed off this view – at least for big elections. Actually, the only case which might be developed from the 1948 evidence is a negative one – that the Republicans may have lost because the polls lured them into complacency. But by 1952 the argument was heard that the polls, while not making us all bandwagon jumpers in November, did have this effect in *nominating* contests. The Republican convention was cited to show that the "Taft-can't-win" argument, as supported by surveys, helped to channel the nomination to Eisenhower. The difficulty here, of course, was that exactly the reverse was true with the Democrats. Polls showed Kefauver far ahead of Stevenson, but it was Stevenson who was chosen.

One reason Senator Kefauver was so far ahead in the 1952 polls was the much greater familiarity of people with his name than with the name of the Governor of Illinois. Kefauver had presided over a nationwide televised crime investigation and was much better known than Stevenson. Polls *do* measure name familiarity, the more so the further away one stands in time from the election to be measured. Thus in 1957, views of the Presidential election in 1960 were far more likely to reflect name familiarity than would a poll in the spring of 1960. But as the real alternatives begin to emerge, the voter's interest and opinion begin to be clarified, too. This is true as of today and will be even more true once the electorate has two and only two identifiable Presidential candidates to consider.

Of course, name familiarity can greatly benefit an aspiring candidate, poll or no poll. Every politician can recall party meetings at which this or that proposed candidate was rejected because "nobody knows him." Name awareness is a real asset, but not an asset created by the poll. Consider several examples. In 1956 Minnesota Republicans nominated famed basketball player George Mikan for Congress; with respect to "Big George" it cannot be maintained his basketball record was a handicap in getting him the nomination. Or take another example. Some years ago Franklin Roosevelt,

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Jr., was elected to fill a vacancy in Congress from a New York City district. Here, too, it was obvious his name was no drawback. To get a candidate whose name is top draw with the voters is an advantage no political leader would disdain. A poll may demonstrate which name is the better known, but it is not responsible for the familiarity, nor even more important, does it create the attitude which reacts so favorably to a given name.

After reading poll results, politicians may conclude that this or that candidate ought to be preferred. But here we are dealing with the problem of exploring the public mind, not with the larger question of whether or not the public mind should be decisive in public affairs. Presuming the survey-research operation to be an honest one, the researcher is a measurer, not a king-maker. The unease is really an unease about the political leadership rather than about polls.

Cheaper By the Dozen

What of the cost of private polling? "Polls are fine for wealthy candidates, but what about the poor man who can't afford these high-priced intelligence reports?" Governor Mennen Williams of Michigan puts it this way: "The expense of such efforts puts them beyond the personal or campaign funds of the great majority of public officials." Costs are high, but they are not astronomic. While prices vary a great deal, depending on the depth of interviewing desired, coverage, sample pattern, and the like, a competent private-client poll in a medium-sized state might be commissioned for from $5,000 to $10,000, possibly even less. Moreover, polls, like so many other items, are cheaper by the dozen; if polls are to be undertaken in a number of states, the price per state can be lower. Joint polls help, too, to keep down prices. A candidate for Governor, for example, might get together with a Senatorial hopeful and three or four Congressional aspirants to commission a poll. Under these circumstances the cost for the Congressional candidate could well be under $1,000, certainly not excessive in campaign budgets often running 10 or 20 times that sum.

Then there is the matter of the frequency and timing of surveys. The candidate or party who can afford poll after poll, month after month, is rare indeed. Yet differences do exist – differences – from year to year, even from month to month. A candidate unknown at Christmas may be well known by Easter; Wendell Willkie is a case in point. So the candidate who does feel a poll can help him must examine timing, cost, and his total budget to see what makes best sense in his own case.

Normally, if the budget can handle only one poll, it would be made fairly early in the campaign – months before actual voting. This is done so as to permit a maximum evaluation of problems – is the candidate well known? If not, where is his name most recognized – and where least? What aspects of the candidate get a positive voter response? Which a negative? What are the things which concern the voters most? And least? The sooner the candidate knows these answers the better – but the longer the time between his poll and voting day the greater the possibility for change. So a compromise must be made – late enough to be meaningful, early enough to be usable.

Ideally, polls would be taken regularly to measure candidate impact, shifts on personalities and issues, and the like. But usually this is not possible. The costs of a three-time poll (February, summer-time and October) are about the most a candidate will be willing to invest in survey research. Three polls so spaced should be adequate to give an early reading, to follow and identify trends, and to give major assistance in the campaign.

Finally, of course, beyond all uneasiness and doubt and suspicion, comes the big question – is the poll reliable? Can the findings of Gallup and Roper and Harris and the rest be trusted? Do they actually give us a picture of America's mind? This is the hardest question to answer. No poll has ever been 100 percent wrong, but many have been off the mark, sometimes by a good deal. In the final analysis, if the polls are honestly and competently operated, they seem to be the best present-day device for testing opinion. There are many candidates who would never commission a poll – even if it were free. But the rise of the private polling industry and the increased reliance put on polling by scholars and political writers points up a basic acceptance of the polling idea, albeit subject to doubts.

No party will find the polls a substitute for good candidates, acceptable policies and hard work. If a candidate finds he is little known, let him emulate the astonishing feat of Congressman Ken Hechler of West Virginia, elected Representative less than two years after his first appearance in his district. If his ideas be nonconformist let him follow Governor DiSalle's example and educate the public. In 1958 Nelson Rockefeller's own private polls showed him far behind Governor Harriman, the Democratic candidate for re-election. But Rockefeller in this instance accepted the handicap, put on a tough all-out campaign and won despite a nationwide drift away from the Republican Party.

Polls can gain public attention, or serve an intelligence purpose, but they cannot lead, or act, or do. Like a radio, they are neither good nor bad. In many ways there is much to be said for the argument that the public opinion poll today represents an opportunity for direct expression of popular feeling on issues and people far beyond anything thought possible by the reformers of the early 1900's, concerned as they were with direct legislation, the referendum and the Presidential primary. Imperfect as they are, the polls may very likely get closer in this spring of 1960 to popular feeling about the Presidency than either primaries *or* the national conventions.

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Portrait of a Man from Oxford

by Patrick O'Donovan

"Ronald Knox lacked only longevity to be a national figure. Had he lived to be eighty he would, most unwillingly, have found himself assumed into that odd circle of ancient savants and charlatans whom the Sovereign delights to honour and the popular press treats with some semblance of reverence. He died at sixty-nine still essentially a private person." Why then a full-dress biography?

Ronald Knox was the son of the Anglican Bishop of Manchester, a sound low churchman whose episcopal palace was a large Victorian villa set among sooty laurels. His maternal grandfather was another bishop and a missionary one, a man utterly possessed by God. He worked in India, made few converts, was often injured or seriously ill, was usually separated from his family though he begot eight children. And when the time came to leave India, he refused retirement in England and went to the heart of Moslem Africa. He died exhausted and alone in Muscat.

Msgr. Ronald Knox
by Evelyn Waugh
(Little, Brown; $5)

From this solidly clerical family and from the Manchester palace, Ronald Knox went to Eton. Even more than now, it was a place of privilege where a tradition of courtesy and a tolerance of learning was as important as the teaching itself. For the few who could get there, it usually worked an excluding magic. Knox was a success, social and academic. He had a charming facility at verse, in English, Latin and Greek and his love of Eton remained as a sort of temptation with him throughout his life.

Then came Oxford, an Oxford where "the sun rose over Wadham and set behind Worcester." It was a small, delicious world. There was the same circle of friends from Eton only a little enlarged. There was entertaining and visiting through the quadrangles, the reading of papers, endless talk, and a serious consideration of religion which slowly became more and more important for Knox. It was a world in which all the "men" he knew took it for granted that they had a major role to play, seldom criticized the role that England played, and the future stretched out in front of them all like a sunlit lawn.

It was, of course, a doomed world. Of the friends whom Knox made, most went off excitedly to join the war. Of the very few who were not killed and killed early, these, the survivors, are now at the peak of the Establishment. This group of friends is remembered for a book of poems or a fine death or just the fact that they were so happy and so gifted, perhaps the most famous schoolboys in history. These were the leaders of the generation that was lost and the West paid for the loss in the stuffy mediocrity of the thirties. The achievements, literary and administrative, of this *coterie* are no longer fashionable; but it is recalled with affection as the last untroubled generation.

Knox took Holy Orders in the Established Anglican Church. But he wrestled with his faith in an unorthodox manner. It never occurred to him that he should go to war. He was now a High Churchman, interested not so much in ritual as in the sacraments and the historical basis of his faith. Such men were not popular in the army. One clerical friend of his, being interviewed by the Chaplain General, was asked what he would do for a dying soldier. He answered, "Hear his confession and give him absolution." The correct answer was, "Give him a cigarette and take any last messages he may have for his family." He was refused.

Knox became chaplain of his college and lectured on the classics and tried to write to all his friends, a task which became smaller and smaller. And then his studies drove him slowly and almost unwillingly into the Catholic Church. It was not an emotional conversion. His conversion, and his life, bore a curious parallel to Newman's. Both left behind all the things they loved. Both rejected their birthrights. Both became strangers to Oxford, at least for a time. Both suffered from the occasional crudities and defensive intolerance of the Catholic in England. Both suffered the suspicion of the Catholic Bishops and occasionally acts of almost incredible insensitive cruelty. And both knew precisely what they were getting into.

Knox became a priest of the Roman Church. He had a barren time teaching in seminaries that were the harsh antithesis of Oxford and then he was returned to Oxford, as Chaplain to the Catholic undergraduates. The Chaplaincy was not rightly endowed, but there was a charming Tudor House, the Old Palace, once the residence of the

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Bishops of Oxford and here Knox began to grow famous.

I knew him there as a long-faced and loose-limbed man, whose clerical collar never fitted and who seemed, except with Etonians, almost permanently embarrassed. He was never called anything except "Ronnie," which was odd since we so greatly respected him. He kept ritual to an irreducible minimum. His authority was almost undetectable. He spoke once a year in the Eights Week Debate at the Oxford Union and it was the funniest (not wittiest) thing I have ever heard. He had a slight air of unhappiness, as if he did not feel that he could cope with us.

To keep the chaplaincy going, Ronnie wrote books, dozens of them. Rigidly correct detective stories, apologetics, parodies, sermons, verse. Few of them are well remembered now. He had no pretentions to being a theologian. He produced one major work *Enthusiasm*, an account of deviate versions of the Protestant faith which he described as his life's work and which even his friends admitted was less than a success.

And then, just before the second war, he left Oxford and retired to a series of grand, Catholic – though war pressed – houses. Here he retranslated the Old and New Testament. The version is used by the English Catholics and a few Americans. It is of lucid English. It is unlikely to last as long as the Douai version it replaced. Read in church it gives a properly disturbing immediacy to the Epistles and Gospels – almost as if they were news from some cultured war correspondent at the front. It is in Oxford-contemporary English, skillful, exact, illuminating, but contemporary. And then, in one of these houses he died and few Englishmen of our time have been so widely mourned.

Msgr. Knox refused to be a bishop. He could by the standards of the world be described as a failure, and yet even an indifferently Protestant England regarded him as one of their luminaries. His self-doubts, his delicacies, his inability to be at ease except among the upper classes, his genius for the love of friends, his fastidious scholarship, his artistry with the *language*, his elaborate English humor, his daunting love of God – all these together do not quite explain it. Such men do occur who are larger than the sum of their achievements – Philip Sidney and Samuel Johnson for example – and generations take comfort in them.

It is an extraordinary story and it precisely suits Mr. Waugh's talent. Now Mr. Waugh is not to everyone's taste. He suffered from an early success with the horror-humors of the twenties. (They still flash out when his subject is America.) Now he has grown older and fiercer and prefers unfashionable subjects. His care is for military honor, traditional virtues (and vices), the aristocracy dissolving in a modern world and the Old Religion. He is aggressive in his spurning of fashion. His novels usually contain a cruel insult for his times. He courts criticism and avoids success. In a gentle way, Ronnie did the same. It happens that this to-day is the most successful form of public relations – in the long run.

Waugh has become an outrageous conservative. In the last British election he wrote to *The Spectator* saying that he would not vote because he did not presume to advise the Queen on her choice of advisers. It is all an exaggeration which infuriates – as it is intended to – the pompous and intolerant part of the Left who are the proper descendants of Ronnie's Enthusiasts. And to the bafflement of his ideological critics, his prose is still as good as any in the language and his novels are still the constructions of an artist. It is hard to believe that they will not last.

Mr. Waugh has tried biography once before. He wrote the life of that peerless politico-religious martyr, Edmund Campion, who was an unsuccessful protestor against his times. It is among his best books. This is a better one.

Here are all his ingredients – the ostensible failure – the loyalty – the real success – the rarity. And he has produced a cool and elegant biography, without pious nonsense, discreet when it is reasonable and without any tiresome hagiography. Indeed it is the spiritual side that is most lacking. He has produced a full-length portrait of a man he admired. And for once a man who chose the "little way" has a monument worthy of the magnitude of his choice.

March Light

March light on the dog, his pompom tail,
his little moistnosed head, all spidery silk
like light after rain through the greyboughed pink peach petals
falling, from time to time (pink scented snow)
over the bright-eyed child busy below,
though rockets clock, is still an unmeasurable thrill.

Better than silk, with more than spider skill,
vast vats unwind a thread of chemical –
the spider spits her thoughtless gossamer
ignorant of nylon, twangs instinctual glue
to equidistant droplets with a claw –
the mathematics of a miracle.

Narcissus' stars, and instances of quince,
just grass, or breathing leaves, an ivy mottle,
the way a tree leans greening in this light,
the yellow mist that drifts from needled pine –
mysteries deeper than if matter splits
stir in the seed and blossom in the sun.

Improved, a metal gleam outspeeds with ease
the quickwinged sheen of green above the blossom –
I stay at home, that thrum and honeybeak,
that light on dog and child, on bug and bud
marvel enough, this tree enough
whatever screams in sky, or rockets reach.

Harold Witt

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Parkinson Considers the Income Tax

by David Cort

Every eye must sparkle at news of a book that proves the income tax to be the chief instrument of tyranny, waste, and Big Government. When the book is also witty and well-documented with the horrors of taxation from the ancient Chaldees on, and of modern inefficiencies and extravagances of Big Government, we feel that the Lone Ranger has at last come to us. But readers of Prof. Parkinson's third book and Second Law should be warned that the professor is a joker.

The Law and the Profits
by C. Northcote Parkinson
(Houghton, Mifflin; $3.50)

Like any skilled joker, he starts with the obvious, the Second Parkinson Law being that expenditures always rise to equal income, and that these added expenditures will always be useless or worse. Before we can think too hard about this, he goes on to examples of governmental lunacies that will make the taxpayer itch with fury.

The argument flourishes in that peculiar twilight that has always surrounded money matters. Transfers of money have usually been kept secret or falsified; the records are few and deceitful. Furthermore, there is no exact way of measuring whether a ruler or government has been efficient, that is, has produced the most in services with the least in income. This would be a great and useful subject. Prof. Parkinson does not attempt it, nor does he always joke.

The joking is clearly over when Parkinson wants to tax all incomes, whether $5,000 or $5,000,000, at the *same rate*. The graduated tax schedule is, to him, the abomination. To thwart by taxation those who save money is, according to Parkinson, the single cause of a nation's decay; and the liquidation of the British upper classes was, he says, an act of national suicide. Money spent on social welfare seems to him a wanton waste.

Much one may admire the British aristocracy, however, it was not numerous or able enough to invent, staff and manage the machines of the inrushing industrial civilization. This system requires the talents of a whole people, and a policy as openly in their favor as the 18th Century favored a few families. One may wish the old dukes well but they are virtually useless to this new organization; whereas social welfare for the many is functionally indispensable.

An argument defending personal savings, and personal property, sounds attractive and reasonable. But this is only because we still think that money today is what it used to be. It is not, even though we all feel the glorious euphoria handling a hundred-dollar bill. Money today is a transfer of credits from the citizen as citizen (income tax) to citizen as government to government as defense corporation or research institute to government as bank or insurance company and so back to citizen as borrower on time-credit.

No economist knows where this fantastic round-robin will take us; but Parkinson pretends nothing has changed since the late Victorian era. He does not even acknowledge that today a "cheap" efficient government must finance such expensive things as atom bombs, rockets, missiles, planes, space exploration, housing and research.

After these cavils, it is right to say that Mr. Parkinson is wonderful on governmental stupidities and how to avoid (not "evade") paying income tax. He sings like an angel to the lower nature of the taxpayer and makes one dream, for a little while, of how nice it would be to own some money outright, an absolute, uncorrodable, unconfiscatable capital.

THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

Election Year Carryings-On

Robert Bendiner's opus is undeniably campaign literature, but it is very, very far from being public relations goose-grease. Many, indeed, will take it for satire because it is amusing; but the United States Pharmacopoeia is not more soberly factual than this work is in its main thesis. That thesis is that there is a strong element of comedy in every Presidential election, and in most the comedy now and then degenerates into buffoonery.

White House Fever
by Robert Bendiner
(Harcourt, Brace; $3.75)

This is plain truth, and nothing is gained by attempts to deny it; yet the country is full of people who seem to think it a work of piety to ignore it, and these undoubtedly will take a waspish attitude toward Bendiner because he has reported some of the gaudier humors of the quadrennial emotional orgy.

The gravamen of his offending is that he makes his report with only an occasional trace of moral indignation. It is permissible, in fact it is conventional to describe the idiocies of American politics, provided one does it with a long face and predictions of woe and ruin; but it is sinful to laugh and doubly sinful to suggest, as Bendiner does in his concluding chapter, that just this touch of the absurd may be a stabilizing influence that has had more than a little to do with the survival of the republic.

It is to be regretted that he did not develop this argument at greater length, for it is plausible and interesting. Historians long ago realized that the nation has endured for nearly two hundred years because in every Presidential election except that of 1860 one thing was decided before the campaign began – regardless of how the voting went, nobody was going to shoot. Our firmness in adhering to this principle doubtless has many bases, but one unquestionably is a conviction that it would be ridiculous to plug the actors in what is at least partially a farcical performance. We retain our sanity by not taking ourselves, including our politics, too seriously.

Gerald W. Johnson

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ART

The Sunlight in the Garden

Claude Monet: Seasons and Moments
The Museum of Modern Art

Monet outlived his time. He was the most impressionable of the Impressionists and Impressionism flowered – as well as landscaped – in the seventies, reached a peak of sorts in the middle of the eighties and was certainly dead by the end of that decade. It had to be. The movement was the culmination not only of earlier 19th Century French Realism but of European painting in general since Giotto. All those artists through all those centuries had bent their every effort to capture the unmistakable look of things. The Impressionists had gone beyond form, gone beyond texture and painted the light itself, taken by a surface, softened by a shadow, shimmering in the air. When that was done, it was the end of the line.

Not only the logic of the past proved the death of Impressionism; the air of the eighties was no longer that air, limpid and lucid, in which Monet and the Impressionists had watched the light and celebrated its glow. Seurat successfully reduced Impressionist intuition to something resembling an absolute science; that killed Impressionism. Gauguin brought things forward into a flat plane almost indistinguishable from the picture plane; that killed Impressionism. Van Gogh applied his paint in great swirls and bright colors that had much more to do with the artist's feelings than with the look of things; that killed Impressionism. Cézanne rediscovered form and talked doggedly about the figures of solid geometry; that killed Impressionism. So it went, to the end of the century and beyond. Anyone worth his salt in painting, whatever else he did began doing it by stepping up to kill Impressionism.

Monet in the meantime had the bad grace not only to stay alive but to keep on painting. Worse, he kept on painting Impressionism and worst of all, he became immensely popular and immensely rich, thus erasing any possible doubt that he and his art were dead.

Lucky thing for us he did. The Museum of Modern Art's big Monet show includes over 100 paintings and by far the most enchanting are those painted in 40 years following the death of Impressionism in the mid-eighties. At about that time, or a little earlier, Monet embarked on something beyond the theoretical Impressionist picture of a given moment of light and shade. It was still Impressionism, what the aging Monet was doing, but it was Impressionism pushed beyond the moment. He began doing series of paintings of the same subject in successive times of day and, later, through the turn of the seasons. These series of paintings, beautifully installed, are the heart of the show at the Modern.

The new, super-Impressionism began with the paintings of the St. Lazare railroad station, particularly those of the train shed, in the late seventies. The rolling clouds of steam are things in themselves and they transform the grim interior of iron engines and iron frame buildings. The heart of the industrial city, looked at long enough, has given back the response of fleeting charm more familiar in the Impressionist countryside or garden.

Back to the country Monet went, however, beginning in 1890 the two long continued series of *Haystacks* and *Poplars*. The poplars often appear flattened into a single plane of a few graceful, vertical lines, swept with leaves as the sky is swept with mottled clouds. Something else appears in the especially lovely example from the Metropolitan. The four straight trunks, cut off at the top of the picture, plunge, all purple and gold, to the lavendar hedge on the earth. The *Haystacks* are mostly based on two of the tent shaped heaps, standing away from the distant façade of massed poplars and sky. Light, shadow, color and solid form all come together through the seasons and moments of the Haystacks.

These series of paintings most forcefully demonstrate that the whole really is greater than the sum of its parts in the *Rouen Cathedral* pictures of the early nineties. From an angle of view rigidly fixed by the window of his hotel room, Monet painted the façade of the cathedral over and over again. The monumental bulk is always there and so is the equivalent in paint of the grainy stone, but bulk and stone change before your eyes as the light grows and fades, as night thickens, as mist rises. Twenty of these, from dawn to dusk, were exhibited together in the nineties; the show must have been hypnotic. The half dozen or so at the Modern are spectacularly installed and are the peak of the show.

Toward the end of the century Monet, having gone to nature all his life, now brought nature to him, shaped it, constructed it, changed it to carry the main burden of his last twenty-five years. At Giverny he diverted a little tributary of the Seine and created a water garden of willows and wisteria, lilacs and water lilies. On a visit to London and on to Venice he continued the movement of the *Cathedrals* in pictures of *Waterloo Bridge* and of various Venetian palaces. Again solid masonry was played against the breathing air but to that combination was added the incalculable force of water, reflecting light, reflecting structure, reflecting light onto the structure and reflecting light already reflected by the structure.

Back in Giverny he was ready at last for the water garden. At the Modern the great *Water Lily* picture is the three-

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Patrick O'Donovan *is the Washington correspondent* of The Observer (London.) Harold Witt, *a young Californian, is the author of a book of poems that will be published in the fall.* David Cort, *a former editor of* Time, *has just published a book of essays,* Is There an American in the House?

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section, forty foot strip the museum recently acquired. Here are some of the elements in that picture and in many of Monet's last works: the surface of the water, the lilies afloat, the passing clouds reflected on the surface, the shadows cast by unseen foliage, the hanging ends of other foliage, the bottom of the pond with underwater grasses. All these come together in a vision that opens for us as it did for Monet and we float, like the lilies, between sky and sky.

Perhaps a dozen years after Monet's death in 1926, Louis MacNiece wrote:

> The sunlight on the garden
> Hardens and grows cold;
> We cannot cage the minute
> Within the nets of gold.

Monet did.

Frank Getlein

MOVIES

Partners In Crime

How dreadful we all are. We go about mouthing moralities and large ideals, and all the while we are full of frustrated villainy. Just as inside every fat man there is a thin man struggling to get out, so inside every honest man there is a trapped criminal.

Two proofs of this are currently on view – two films based on the "perfect crime" thesis. There we sit watching felons plot and move against society, and all the suspense – of which there is considerable in both cases – comes from our hope for their success. Each film tickles our latent hunger for adventure, for the super-quick buck, and our hatred of our ethic-bound existences.

Seven Thieves
(20th Century-Fox)
The Third Voice
(20th Century-Fox)
Chance Meeting
(Paramount)

Seven Thieves is the story of a group who break the bank at Monte Carlo the literal way. An assorted septet, linked by different motives and for different services, attack the vault under the casino with a campaign planned by Edward G. Robinson. It is a moderately ingenious plot, with some holes – or at least some inordinate risks – that cannot be pointed out without spoiling the picture for a potential viewer. One matter that can be mentioned: the relationship between Robinson and Rod Steiger, which is revealed at the end, surely would have come up between them when they were alone together?

Neither Robinson nor Steiger nor any of the cast, which includes Eli Wallach, Joan Collins, and Alexander Scourby, gets much chance to do what could seriously be called acting. But they behave for the most part like experienced craftsmen turning out a professional product. And Steiger's ursine sententiousness – a kind of nearly tangible egotism which "Method" acting often evokes – is minimal in this film. He is almost likeable: no small triumph. The experienced directorial hand of Henry Hathaway keeps the whole affair running along without a bump.

Throughout the picture there is a certain sense that you are seeing a foreign film once removed – as if this were an American re-make of a French picture. This is not the fact; it is simply that a pervasive air of well-rubbed edges, of complete acceptance of crime as one more available *metier*, is missing. But it is an entertaining film and achieves its end. During every moment, you are cheering the thieves on, a vicarious member of the band.

Or you can go to *The Third Voice* and be a murderer. In this harsh, tight, hard film, the casually forceful Edmond O'Brien is the agent for a scheme of revenge hatched by a discarded mistress (Laraine Day) against her rich ex-lover. The victim is murdered early (so it is fair to reveal it), and the story hinges on whether the pair will succeed in escaping and in mulcting the rich man's estate. Julie London plays a *femme fatale* and her bosom continues to fascinate cameramen; any scene with Miss London is invariably alpine.

Hubert Cornfield, who directed from his own screenplay based on a Charles Williams novel, shows that he has been studying good directors and has an eye of his own. The picture is economically and incisively handled with a muted brutality that is frighteningly engaging. The no-doubt shameful result is that, although O'Brien has been a murder accomplice for money and has made love to his confederate as soon as he dumped the dead man in the next room, you find yourself anxious for the success of the scheme.

In both films, however – as in all American films where criminals engage our sympathies – the plans eventually misfire. Indeed part of the suspense is our subconscious knowledge that failure awaits the protagonist. In these pictures, however, one feels that the "moral" ending is not affixed solely for Hollywood code reasons. It is almost as if the film-makers were frightened by the

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territory of the soul into which they had peeked and hurried to clap the cover back on the dungeon-hole. But how pleasant to feel the snakes in our bosom writhe in the momentary light.

If, after either or both of the above, you are troubled by your criminal affinities, you can go to see *Chance Meeting* and suffer with an innocent man (Hardy Kruger) accused of murder. The agony is heightened in the usual manner: the evidence is damning and the hero's explanation thin. Set in London, the film is divided between the murder story and a series of flashbacks which explain his relationship with the woman in the case (Micheline Presle). The motions of the the plot never lag, and the final twist is unexpected and valid. Let it be noted that the screenplay (by two Americans, Ben Barzman and Millard Lampell) contains the class-conflict references without which no British suspense picture seems complete these days. Another American, Joseph Losey, directed.

Thus, if you choose, you can make your neighborhood theater your moral gym: two exercises in depravity and one in wronged honesty finally vindicated. Cynics may want to see them in reverse order.

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The New Republic *welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest.*

Mr. Justice Black

Sirs:

Professor Bickel in his piece on Justice Black (*NR*, March 14) suffers from a terrible handicap. He confesses that he "cannot bring himself not to" admire the capacity of the Justice. Perhaps he cannot . . . not. But his "admiration" has not cramped his style. Professor Bickel could not have done less justice to the thread of Black's argument if he had set after it with a hatchet.

In his New York University lecture, the Justice took an integrated approach to freedom and the Constitution which has long been applied to his opinions.

Black is not a devious or a complicated man. Hard-hitting and well grounded, yes; but intricate, no. As befits the man, his central thought was bold and simple. He believes that when the Constitution provides that Congress shall pass "no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," it means that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. The Amendmendment does not say that Congress can pass "some" laws, "reasonable" laws, "necessary" laws, or "emergency" laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. James Madison might have chosen any of those terms. Instead, Black reminds us, Madison in his own words intended that the government should here have "no power whatever."

That Black's thought is simple, like, say, the idea of a wheel, does not mean that its holder is a simpleton. Black believes that in each of the Amendments, each of the rights of an American citizen, there is a core of absolute protection. He, of course, recognized in each Amendment a problem of classification to determine whether particular conduct is within the rule at all. If a given religious faith permits the devout to eat beef and not pork, someone must decide whether a given piece of meat is one or the other. Once that classification is made, the rule itself is absolute.

As I read Black, this is what he is saying about civil liberties. For example, a decision must be made whether common, garden variety slander is "speech" at all within the meaning of the First Amendment. But the problem ends when that classification is made – if it is, then government can do nothing about it. If not, government can regulate.

What the inner core of the protected may be is harder to determine under the more broadly than under the more loosely worded Amendments. "No law" on speech is more nearly precise than the prohibition of "unreasonable searches." But, says Black, each Amendment somewhere has such a core, and when that core is found, when that classification is made, the matter within it is beyond the reach of government. As to that inner core, there is nothing to "balance."

There is, of course, an opposite point of view. There is the view that the judges should "balance" the command of the Constitution against the needs of society, and so allow those restrictions of liberty which seem useful.

Black rejects this bend-with-the-wind approach. He perceives that liberty whittled away is hard recovered, that "if the need is great, the right of government can always be said to outweigh the rights of the individual." The balance was cast, he believes, when the Founding Fathers made a choice of values. It remains for succeeding generations to apply those values rigorously until, if ever, they are amended away.

The Black view is and has been a minority view. The law is as Professor Bickel and his judicial heroes would have it. The apogee of this balancing process came in the years immediately before Chief Justice Warren, when the Court balanced the Constitution into tolerating the worst vices of the McCarthy era – invariably over Black's dissent.

It might have been a better thing to follow the Constitution as it is written. The Republic would have been spared the shame of the century if it had adhered to the mandate, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

John P. Frank
Phoenix, Arizona

(Mr. Frank is the author, among other works, of *Mr. Justice Black: The Man and His Opinions.*)

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Gerrymandering in Wisconsin

Sirs:

Concerning Senator Kennedy and Wisconsin "discrimination": I am one of the "more liberal, more numerous city dwellers" who is discriminated against – and I most emphatically deplore such discrimination or any discrimination in State and national elections.

But the discrimination in Wisconsin is against city people, not against Senator Kennedy or any other candidate. And this discrimination will also occur in the final election. To give a candidate more delegates in the nominating convention than he can have, on a similar vote, in the electoral college creates the impression that he will have greater strength in the final election than he can possibly have. The purpose of the nominating convention is to pick the candidate most likely to win who has the strongest *effective* support. Hence the delegates to the nominating convention should be selected on the same basis as the electors to the electoral college.

It should be noted that Senator Humphrey is also hurt by this discrimination against the "more liberal city voters."

Benjamin J. Holly
Des Moines, Iowa

What America Can Afford

Sirs:

I believe you miss one of America's greatest needs in your article "What America Can Afford" (March 7).

It is the development and conservation of our agricultural resources that requires public spending. I know the first reflex thought to that is "How absurd with agricultural surpluses our present problem." However, barring an atomic holocaust, the population of the US will be 100 million greater in less than 25 years. Our present surpluses will be changed to shortages. The whole world will be facing a similar situation.

In addition it is inevitable that Congress, the Executive Department and the people of the United States will realize the need for and implement a "Food for Peace and Development" program for countries now acutely short on food, medical care, housing, education, industry and so forth. We will replace competition and rivalry with Russia in armament to a constantly increasing amount with food. This will require the production of many million acres of our crop and grazing land. A rapidly growing population at home plus a more rapidly expanding use of our food overseas calls for starting the long-time expansion and development of our agricultural potential.

Our greatest underdeveloped potential lies in the semi-arid area astride the 100° parallel of longitude in the Great Plains from North Dakota to Texas. Developing the great potential of this area would call for the impounding and diversion of a large share of the waters of the Missouri River and its tributaries.

The preliminary planning, development, completion of dams, diversion and preparation of land for irrigated farming would take 20 to 25 years before large increases in production would be achieved – just when its need would really be acute. But the start should be a *must* for the "60's."

Jay Whitson
Lake Elmo, Minnesota

Rhee Ad Infinitum

Sirs:

Edward Neilan's "Rhee Ad Infinitum" (March 7) is the first article I can remember reading that discusses events in that presumably crucial area without bowing its head over the "gallant, war-torn little country" or displaying the statue of the author puritanically showing his great, righteous indignation over a cherished scandal. It is notably refreshing to see someone write that the Korean opposition is not above the tough politics we find everywhere, especially so because I've seen no other article anywhere that hasn't labeled that opposition "the great hope" to make everything rosy in Korea while bringing about what many of us would consider President Rhee's long overdue retirement.

For those of us who want to know what what is happening, and realistic reasons for its happening, around Asia and Africa and other off-the-beaten-track areas, *The New Republic* should issue more such, and preferably at greater length.

J. N. Laichas
San Francisco, California

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This monthly publication started out as a tabloid newspaper called THE CALIFORNIA LIBERAL, then grew into a full-fledged magazine of national and international importance. Some of the articles which appear in the APRIL issue will give you some reasons why:

CANCER QUACKS AND CURES: CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIMENT—California, first state to legalize control of cancer medicines, must come to grips with Dr. Andrew C. Ivy and the drug Krebiozen, and with the man who has been called America's number one cancer quack: Harry Hoxsey. Vital details you have not read in any other national magazine.

THE PRIVATE POWER FALLACY—More than 100 of the nation's biggest power concerns, operating in unison with the name "America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies," are currently waging one of the costliest and most grossly misleading campaigns in the history of American advertising.

SAM NEWHOUSE vs. THE UNIONS—America's third largest chain publisher is involved in an effort to turn the tide against the trade union movement with strikebreaking methods used in the four-month-old Portland newspaper strike, one of the most sordid episodes in American journalism. Details about this strike you have not read before.

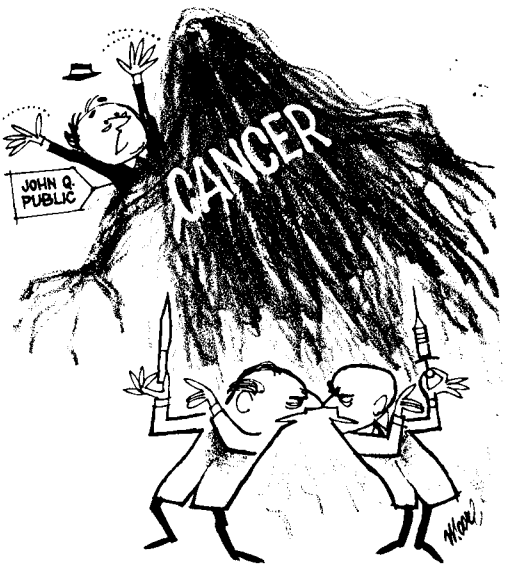
NAZIS YESTERDAY AND TODAY—A Nazi propaganda film that ran nine months in San Francisco; a list of top ranking Nazis in control of West Germany's government and militia today; and some neo-Nazi hate groups in the USA.

DISSECTING THE PRESS—*Newsweek*, magazine of rumor; Examiner and Safeway: a cozy relationship; The Vanity Press; "Today"; "Exclusive."

STORIES THE DAILIES WON'T PRINT—False ads and monopolies in the world of business.

BANK vs. SOCIAL CREDIT—The Canadian dollar, under a nationalalized central banking system, has surpassed the U.S. dollar, under a privately owned central banking system, both in value and demand on the world market.

TO PACIFIC TELEPHONE: NON-TAXABLE—The telephone company turns a trick.



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